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RICHARD A. CARDWELL

Juan R. Jiménez

The Modernist Apprenticeship

1895-1900

In spite of the critical acclaim following the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature to Juan Ramón Jiménez in 1956 and a recent revival of interest in his work we know very little about Jiménez's literary apprenticeship and the influence exercised over it by the cultural climate in Spain in the 1890s.

The aim of this study is to give a more accurate picture of the origins and early development of Spanish Modernism and its domination of Juan Ramón's formative years and early writing. Dr. Cardwell argues that the poet's mature *ética-estética* cannot be properly understood without reference to his Modernist apprenticeship. Starting from the firm basis of contemporary evidence, from a reassessment of the cultural and philosophical debates of the 1890s and from an internal study of Jiménez's earliest writings, the book reconsiders the more important appraisals of the art of Jiménez, of Modernism and of the contemporary Generation of 1898. The book is a pioneering study in that it adopts a new approach to the period. It seeks to present the literary history of the period not in terms of opposing movements and literary squabbles but rather in terms of a general *fin de siècle* sensibility. That sensibility was a product of imported literary ideas (Symbolism, Parnassianism, Decadence, German Idealism, English Aestheticism and Pre-Raphaelitism),



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R. A. C.

INTRODUCTION:

BREAKING THE MOULD

The aim of this study is threefold. First it seeks to consider Juan Ramón Jiménez in the context of his age; second to examine his literary apprenticeship; third to correct the deficiencies of critical assessments both of the poet and of the Modernist movement in which he made his literary début. The following chapters offer, then, a detailed analysis of the early development of Modernism in Spain and of the domination of Jiménez's formative years and early writing by it.

In the *Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Madrid 1958) Ricardo Gullón recorded a passing comment of the poet, the significance of which has been almost entirely overlooked.

Se ha estudiado el modernismo a base de clichés, de lugares comunes. Hay una especie de molde, elaborado por las ideas recibidas, y a la crítica le cuesta trabajo salir de ahí, porque suele ser perezosa y no le apetece ponerse a estudiar de nuevo, buscar a los problemas otras soluciones distintas de las hasta ahora aceptadas. (113)

Such a comment has far-reaching implications for the historian of the Modernist movement in Spain and for any assessment of Juan Ramón's place in it. Let us begin with a survey of the current attitudes towards Modernism and the *clichés* they have given rise to.

When we examine the corpus of criticism, and even the most important work in the field, two major problems emerge. The first concerns the discrepancy between our knowledge of the manifestations of Modernism and our knowledge of the influences at work which produced it. With regard to the former a considerable number of critics — Salinas, Dámaso Alonso, Laín Entralgo, Díaz-Plaja and Silva Castro¹ — have assessed the diction, themes, prosody and aesthetics of Modernism and have stressed its *palingenesia* of rhetoric. Few critics have paused to consider the reasons why such an artistic phenomenon should have come about. Modernism has been casually linked with Parnassianism, Symbolism and other aesthetic movements in Europe in the mid-century but no attempt has been made to discover

what theories were held in common or why such influences should be accepted. The present study proposes to reconsider the problem. And what of the origins of Modernism? Rodó, Lafinur, Zum Felde and Díez-Canedo have touched on the question of the ideological and social factors which were to produce Modernism to argue for a general reaction against the Disaster of 1898, a revolt against an industrialized and mercantilist society and what Onís was to call 'la crisis universal de las letras y del espíritu, que inicia hacia 1885 la disolución del siglo XIX . . . un hondo cambio histórico'.² None of these critics adequately explains the reasons why the shift in sensibility took place in 1885 and they neglect the fact that many major Modernist works were published long before 1898.

The second problem arises from the discrepancy of attitude between those critics who appear to see Modernism almost exclusively as a literary phenomenon and those who have emphasised its much broader philosophical and idealistic manifestations.³ There is a common failing in Modernist criticism whatever its allegiances. In all of these positions, as D. L. Shaw has remarked with regard to N. Davison's *Modernism in Hispanic Criticism* (Boulder, Colorado 1966), there is a desire to describe rather than to analyse.⁴ This has led directly to the present unsatisfactory situation concerning the definition of the movement and the assessment of the place of one of its leading Spanish exponents, Juan Ramón Jiménez, which this study seeks to correct.

I propose to examine the two shortcomings referred to above with particular reference to the commentators of the age and contemporary writers abroad and in Spain. An attempt will be made to establish the outlook of various members of the movement and other outside observers with whom Jiménez came into contact. Consideration will be given to the various writers Jiménez claimed to have read with a view to reconstructing the process of the aesthetic formation of the poet and to understand how the movement as a whole evolved. In this way the discrepancy between what we know of Modernist rhetoric and the influences at work which produced it will be reduced. Further, the observations of contemporary chroniclers might provide a more adequate description of what Zum Felde termed 'un estado de conciencia'. An analysis of the climate of ideas, philosophical and artistic, obtaining in the final decades of the century might demonstrate that the arbitrary imposition of a cultural watershed in 1885 or a spiritual crisis in 1898 has little historical validity. Let us consider further this 'estado de conciencia'.

Modernism represented more than an artistic revolution. Indeed, as

Onís recognised, it implied a change in sensibility. But there is a general failure to relate the consequences of this 'crisis espiritual' to the philosophical and religious origins of the movement, especially with regard to Spain. Onís' diagnosis, followed a year later by Jiménez's almost identical comments in the interview with Proel, were probably the earliest attempts to find a valid universal definition of the movement. Their positions have subsequently been refined by the work of Gullón, Schulman and González.⁵ Yet none of these critics is specific about the ideological antecedents of Modernism or clear about the type of Romanticism which informs the so-called 'Romantic' aspects of the movement. With reference to both Latin America and Spain D. L. Shaw has argued in several valuable studies that 'a scrutiny of the [*Weltanschauung* of Modernism] suggests that the *modernistas*' religion of art can be interpreted as yet another attempt to overcome the general crisis of beliefs and ideals which they inherited in an intensified form from the romantics'.⁶ Pedro Henríquez Ureña and others assert that Modernism is a more 'positive' manifestation of true Romanticism. I take my stand with Shaw and Ramsden⁷, and with the many contemporary commentators whose assessments are quoted in this study, who have recognised, with Camus⁸, that the Romanticism which survives and persists is precisely the 'negative' or 'sceptical' form. I would underline the emphasis on the sense of life's lost finality in the young writers in the 1890s. While modern commentators have placed considerable emphasis on the impact of the Disaster as an explanation for the Modernist withdrawal from life into an ivory tower, I should prefer to consider the movement and the young Jiménez in terms of an 'otra solución', in terms of something more fundamental: spiritual disorientation and desolation. If we look at Silva's 'Nocturno', Darío's 'Lo fatal', Manuel Machado's *Alma* or Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* we find increasingly that while these writers are disgusted by the age in which they live and by its lack of *idealismo*, (as Jiménez was to lament in his review of Timoteo Orbe's *Rejas de oro*), they blame not so much society or its leaders, but the loss of religious faith. The result is an agonizing awareness of the inability to fill the resulting void. 'Busco en vano una estrella que me alumbre', cried Nervo in 'Al Cristo', 'busco en vano un amor que me redima; / mi divino ideal está en la cumbre, / y yo ¡pobre de mí! yazgo en la sima'. 'Mi pensamiento busca al ignorado palacio en donde la Verdad se encierra', echoes Jiménez in 'Plegaria', 'y a conseguir esa Verdad se aferra / y gime y se revuelve encadenado . . . ¿Y han de servir mis blancas ilusiones / para comida

de gusano inmundo?'. In 'Vanidad' he is reminded that 'iremos a la nada' as in 'Triste ley' he recognises '¡Que al fin vuelve a parar todo en la nada!'. 'Plegó la fe sus alas de paloma / en mi angustiado espíritu', wrote Reina in 'Desde el campo', 'y rasgando el velo brillador que ocultaba / la espantosa miseria de los hombres / el árbol de mi vida ... / ... cayó herido / por el hacha fatal del desengaño'. 'Dícese, y con razón', observed Gregorio Martínez Sierra in *Alma Española* (6-III-1904), 'que la juventud actual, si no es frívola, es triste; yo creo que su frivolidad o tristeza son sencillamente desconcierto, por falta de finalidad. ... Antiguamente hablaba la Iglesia y daba la fórmula del vivir ... hoy todo es silencio'. Icaza speaks of 'la pena enorme que en el alma abrigo', 'mis penas de engañado', 'la tristeza resignada'. 'Nada ha amargado más las horas de meditación de mi vida', recorded Darío in the *Historia de mis libros*, 'que la certeza tenebrosa del fin. Y cuántas veces me he refugiado en algún paraíso artificial, poseído del horror fatídico de la muerte'. Shaw has argued convincingly that the leading Modernists were obsessed with a sense of fallen values and lost finality. Baroja, writing in the prologue to Martínez Ruiz's *La fuerza del amor* in 1900, suggested that the literary generation to which he belonged was characterized by a 'gran aspiración hacia el infinito', the 'ansia indeterminada a la idealidad'. They are what Villaespesa in the prologue to *Almas de violeta* called 'nostálgicos de ideal', 'tormented by their awareness of an abyss between inner vision and surrounding reality'. 'These are all aspects of a basically Romantic dilemma'.⁹ What makes them specifically Modernist is the deliberate recourse to the beguilement of Art as Darío's statement in the *Historia de mis libros* confirms.¹⁰ Yet, as we shall see, this means more than the process of hedonistic withdrawal into artificial paradises.

The following chapters will attempt to give substance to the arguments raised here. This interpretation of Jiménez's early work and his place in the Modernist movement in Spain will adduce evidence that hitherto has remained undiscovered, has been overlooked or has been deemed to be invalid in *fin de siècle* studies. The evidence is designed to test the arguments made by Ramsden and Shaw in their seminal studies of the 98 and of the post-Romantic phenomenon of spiritual disquiet. This monograph, therefore, seeks to vindicate their stand and to re-interpret their findings in the context of Modernism. It also seeks to raise again the vexed question of *modernismo frente a noventa y ocho* in order to rekindle interest in the problem, to make scholars re-examine traditional interpretations of it and to stimulate further

discussion in the area. The approach to Jiménez's Decadent aestheticism and the interpretation of his *neo-misticismo* and the conclusions drawn are entirely original. The profile drawn of the pre-Modernist literary climate and of Modernism in Spain is similarly new. I am deeply indebted, however, to Shaw and Ramsden for the approach I adopt in the final chapter where the major problem of the relationship of Modernism, as Jiménez came to understand it, with the Generation of 1898 is broached. It is at this point especially that their arguments and the arguments developed throughout this book stand together in mutual support. It is hoped that my interpretation in no way vitiates their claims.

In this examination of the early work of Jiménez and his place in the Spanish Modernist movement a position has been adopted which runs counter to the general pattern of Modernist criticism and which seeks to justify the views here expressed. This work is basically concerned, therefore, with the poet's ideology as it gradually took shape at the end of the last century and with the influences operating on it from the intellectual ambience in the Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga, in the Ateneo and the University in Seville and in the *tertulias* in Madrid. It does not deal primarily with the poetic qualities of the juvenilia; it studies the young poet in the fullest possible context of the literary climate of the age.

Jiménez was born into a prosperous land-owning family in Andalusia in 1881 at a time when the political, economic and social stresses created by the Restoration *turno pacífico* were beginning to impress themselves on all but the blindest of thinking men. In addition, the spiritual crisis inherited from the Romantics was about to break out afresh and had already found its most explicit expression in Ganivet's thesis *España filosófica contemporánea*. Jiménez grew up in a sheltered and privileged community which offered considerable scope for the poet's intellectual and artistic pursuits. Unlike many artists of his time he had independent means and could afford to indulge most inclinations. As a child he was shy and withdrawn and unnaturally dependent upon the emotional security of his mother. He was subject to sudden fits of depression and nervous attacks. He was terrified by the thought of death. He indulged solitary pursuits, walking alone in the countryside and by the sea or spending hours reading and day-dreaming while watching the effect of the sunlight filtered through the stained glass of a door. He had access to the family library, those of his uncles and of other leading citizens of Moguer. Even as a child he was well-read for the son of the provincial gentry. In 1893 he was

sent, like other privileged offspring of Andalusian landowners, to the Jesuit College of San Luis Gonzaga in Puerto de Santa María where he underwent a singular spiritual and religious experience and, at one point, nearly entered the order. In 1896 he entered the University of Seville to read Law. He never graduated. Instead he spent the time reading, reliving the experiences of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, studying to be a painter, arguing with the establishment writers over the merits of Darío, making friends with the Krausist professors in the University and making no small name for himself in liberal intellectual and literary circles. A mysterious *disgusto* brought him back to an enforced retirement in Moguer where he continued to read voraciously in the literary magazines of the period and the major European writers of the nineteenth century which he obtained from his bookseller in Madrid. Despite the physical isolation of Moguer he followed closely the literary developments in Madrid, Latin America and France and maintained a constant correspondence with the leading progressive poets of the time. In April 1900 he was called to Madrid at the invitation of Darío and Villaespesa to fight in the Modernist Crusade. From this it is clear that any study which seeks to assess Jiménez's art at this time outside the context of the literary developments of the *fin de siècle* can only present a distorted picture. In Madrid he completed his Modernist apprenticeship and produced one of the earliest Modernist collections to appear in Spain. *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta* are, by any test, significant works in the history of the movement. They predate the work of the Machados, Valle-Inclán and, with the exception of Villaespesa, virtually every other Spanish *modernista* writer. It is strange that these works should have attracted so little critical attention. Later that year his father suddenly died. The shock brought about a complete nervous breakdown and Jiménez was sent to a mental institution near Bordeaux where he remained until the next year. In 1901 he set off on a European tour which was to broaden his literary horizons and usher in a significantly new style of creative writing. While the style had changed the spiritual vision had not. The present study seeks to illuminate the process of intellectual and aesthetic formation and the creation of that vision with reference to the various aspects of Jiménez's education, formal and informal, direct and indirect. It examines his earliest writings, many of which have never received critical consideration, from 1895 until the autumn of 1900. It examines them in some detail for they represent a specific phase in the evolution of his art and mark the years of literary preparation, his Modernist apprenticeship. After 1902

he was to reject much of the juvenilia and to inaugurate a new type of Modernism in Spain in the pages of *Helios* and through the Editorial Renacimiento of Gregorio Martínez Sierra. In that this was distinct from the Modernism of Darío it concludes a chapter in Jiménez's maturing art. Yet the central inspiring principle of the work which followed was the product of a series of unique experiences between 1895 and 1900. It is these experiences and their Modernist context which will be studied the better to understand the poetry and essays which follow.

For all of Darío's celebration of 'el arte puro' and his emphasis on aesthetic values, the Modernist movement in Cataluña and in Spain was not devoid of ideology.¹¹ Indeed, it marks a reaction to a specific moment in the history of ideas in the Peninsula. The Modernist movement in Spain was rather short-lived and abortive. Only second rate poets persisted with it. The major ones either rejected it, or, like Jiménez, transmuted it into the basis for a new regenerative spiritual idealism. In that Jiménez was to emerge as leader of this new aesthetic force which centred about the magazine *Helios*, his part in the development of a new type of Modernist ideology is undoubtedly important. This aspect of Jiménez's formation has been overlooked or neglected consistently. His subsequent doctrine of an *ética-estética* cannot be placed in its proper perspective without it. This, I believe, justifies the concentration on the prelude to his mature work and the limited but detailed scope of this monograph.

I also seek to reconsider some of the existing lines of thought in relation to *modernismo* and the early work of Jiménez. Among the accepted 'truths' that have become a central part of the histories of the movement and of the assessments of Jiménez's earliest artistic endeavours the following might be challenged: that Darío was the central figure in the development of Modernism in Spain and that it was he who, single-handed, brought the *nuevo evangelio* to Spain; that the literary scene he found there, which he recorded in *La Nación*, was moribund; that it fell to the younger poets under his leadership to rescue Spanish letters; that Modernism was mainly a *palingenesia* of rhetoric with little ideological content; that little was known of European literary developments until after the return of Jiménez and the Machado brothers from Paris.

When we consider the actual historical development of *modernismo* and Jiménez's place in it, there remains the difficulty of escaping the vicissitudes of an over-general solution on the one hand and the restrictions imposed on the other if Jiménez is seen as a part of a

chronologically determinate and identifiable Modernism. Criticism, in general, has failed to come to terms with the problem because it has favoured the concept of large movements. The present study would suggest that the internal incongruities and differences between writers, loosely termed Modernists, invalidates any attempt at a general appraisal even of a single chronologically determinate Modernism, still less a Modernism as a whole movement. In an essay in *El Sol* on 10 May 1936 Jiménez made a very clear discrimination.

En Villaespesa, el horizonte y todo lo demás era el modernismo, aunque él no pudiese explicar bien lo que el modernismo y él significaba. Fue el "paladín, el cruzado, el pujil del modernismo", del modernismo hispano-americano, portugués, español, de su *modernismo*. Porque en el modernismo hubo muchos variantes. Rubén Darío era la cabeza evidente, el conjunto, la síntesis, el *modernismo ideal*, e influye en todos nosotros, exotistas y castellanistas.

This would confirm the argument for a *prima facie* plurality of *modernismos*, a view which had been partially postulated by Luis Cernuda.¹² When such a cultural phase has been analysed into its distinct components the real affinities and differences, philosophical and practical, between Jiménez and the other members of the movement can be assessed.

In 1956 Jiménez was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. This event revived scholarly interest in the poet. Within two years the biographies of Palau de Nemes (*Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez* [Madrid 1957]) and Garfias (*Juan Ramón Jiménez* [Madrid 1958]) had made their appearance. The next decade saw not less than twelve major studies.¹³ Since then six further significant monographs have been published.¹⁴ The difficulty in tracing copies of the early collections and in finding articles published in forgotten literary reviews has now been overcome by the reimpression of the canon in the Biblioteca Premios Nobel and the many collections edited by Garfias and Gullón. On balance there would seem little to add. Yet for all the merit of this considerable corpus of scholarship there remains a number of deficiencies.

Many of these works deal exclusively with the poetry written after the acknowledged watershed of 1914. Apart from Díaz-Plaja's *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía* (Madrid 1958), there is virtually no detailed study of the early work. The major failing here is that the rigid and exclusive *coordinadas* established oversimplify the considerable subtlety of Jiménez's ideas. Much criticism of the later work makes judgements of the *primera época* on the basis of poems taken

from the anthologies prepared after 1917. It is obvious that any assessment cannot be made on the evidence of revisions. A proper scrutiny of the original poems is called for. A further failing concerns the question of formative influences. Critics in this area presuppose that the provincial atmosphere of Moguer was inimical to contact with new ideas. A second feature is that critics do not address themselves to the question of why Jiménez was attracted to or interested in the many writers he cites in the autobiographical notes over the years. The question the critic must pose of any age is why its emergent writers accept certain influences, adopt certain techniques and employ certain images and themes rather than others. It may be that this question is related ultimately to the dimension of spiritual disorientation. This study does not suggest that these critics give a deliberately distorted picture of the period 1895 to 1900. It is that the picture is far from complete; the result of a misguided preoccupation with Jiménez's own assessment of the situation.¹⁵

Criticism, then, is deficient in two major areas. First on the period 1895 to 1900. Second, in its failure to take cognizance of the intellectual, spiritual and artistic climate in which Jiménez worked and in which his own aesthetic matured. G. Siebenmann's statement that 'toda la trayectoria poética del poeta de Moguer sería distinta de lo que fue sin su arranque en la estética modernista' (*op. cit.*, 507) is undoubtedly true. The trouble is that this truism has too often been ignored. By seeing Jiménez in terms of a whole literary movement we shall the more clearly understand his subsequent development. We shall also see Jiménez amid the multiform and contending claims of the various components which went to make up the whole movement and his reaction to them. Gicovate has suggested that what Juan Ramón sought was 'una manera de comprender el hecho poético, de entenderse a sí mismo y de reafirmar su confianza en el labor que se había impuesto y cuyo significado le es siempre vago al principiante' (38). The following chapters attempt to give substance to Jiménez's earliest conception of 'el hecho poético' as he served his Modernist apprenticeship.

CHAPTER ONE:

AN IDEAL FOR LIFE

I. THE COLLEGE AND THE CLOISTER

This chapter is concerned with the ideas and intellectual fashions which Jiménez would have encountered and the books he read or probably knew before his departure for Madrid *modernista*. Indeed, the focus in this study is concerned specifically with the climate of ideas in which he worked, its impact upon his aesthetic and ethical vision of the world and its expression in the themes and symbols which he employs. As such his work will be studied principally from the thematic and aesthetic rather than from the stylistic point of view. While we are concerned to discover the nature of the Modernist movement in Spain in which the poet matured there is little attempt to analyse the *modernista* style in which he expressed the central preoccupations of the movement. To do so would, in some degree, overlap previous criticism in the area. The useful appendix, 'Estudio general del modernismo', of Michael P. Predmore's *La obra en prosa de Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Madrid 1966) more than adequately evaluates the formal stylistic aspects of the early work. Emmy Neddermann's *Die symbolistischen Stilelemente im Werke von Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Hamburg 1935) remains, of course, the most complete account to date. This chapter sets out, then, to reconstruct from the fragmentary evidence available a profile of the intellectual and spiritual experience of the adolescent poet in the Jesuit College and subsequently in secular circles in Seville. Since, in many areas there is virtually no record available as to which ideas the poet actually encountered, a number of tentative assumptions might be made on the basis of more certain and allied evidence. The question of formative influences in a given intellectual atmosphere is generally admitted to be a difficult one. Yet a start must be made with regard to Jiménez's spiritual formation. While we have an adequate account of the style of the emergent poet, we know virtually nothing of the ideological and philosophical climate of the College, the University, Orbe's circle, the Modernist *tertulias* of Madrid or of the problems raised in the magazines and in the books

Jiménez read. A cautious attempt is made here to cast some light on an obscure, and to the present, insufficiently illuminated area of his poetic apprenticeship.

In September 1893 Jiménez took the diligence to the station on his way to the Jesuit College in Puerto de Santa María. The College of San Luis Gonzaga was the natural centre for the schooling of the sons of the wealthy landowners of Andalusia. Jiménez, like many of his literary contemporaries, was no exception. There, like Alberti and Buñuel, he became acquainted with the less reputable aspects of Jesuit education. There is no evidence to suggest that the influence of the Jesuit training led directly to Jiménez's break with orthodox Christianity as in the case of others of his generation and of Alberti and Buñuel. However, the commentaries of Pérez de Ayala, who was soon to be a close companion and a fellow-member of the *Helios* group, probably provide a relevant comparison with Jiménez's experience. In an article in *El Imparcial* on 11 April 1904 he wrote of Leopoldo Alas, his Professor of Law at Oviedo: 'La inquietud religiosa, la inquietud metafísica, sintiéndola él en la misma entraña, como adivinando este período espiritual por que atraviesan hoy las almas'. Two years later a paragraph in a letter to Andrés González Blanco (another intimate of the *Helios* group) revealed that he was aware not only of a spiritual unease in the collectivity but also in himself and, moreover, that this Jesuit schooling was directly responsible for it: 'Lo que no sabe Vd., y es muy importante, es que he perdido hace algún tiempo otro divino tesoro, que es la fe. Pero en cuanto le diga que estudié seis años con jesuitas . . . se explicará Vd. fácilmente esta pérdida' (O. C., [Madrid 1963], I, xxxvii). Pérez de Ayala's novelistic hero Alberto de Guzmán, like Martínez Ruiz's Antonio Azorín and Baroja's Fernando Ossorio, all long for the faith they have lost. The men of the Generation of 1898 are, as Ramsden has suggested, 'religious spirits without faith, sceptics tormented by their scepticism, atheistic mystics' (*JRUL*, 34). Their autobiographical heroes are often introduced as simultaneously preoccupied with aesthetic problems and problems of ultimate value. Such, I suggest, was the case with Juan Ramón Jiménez who was closely associated with many of the *noventayochistas*, who moved in their literary circles in 1900 and who drew many of them about him to collaborate in *Helios* on his return from France. The combination of spiritual preoccupations and Art and sensual experience as avenues towards the recovery of existential confidence belong as much to Modernism as to the Generation of 1898. More specifically, these avenues are central features of the early work of Jiménez. The critical

task must be to assess how much Jiménez shared in common the general pessimistic reaction to the spiritual problems of the age and the degree to which his own spiritual confidence was affected by it. The poet left autobiographical notes concerning the everyday routines and schoolboy life in the Colegio but was significantly reticent about his deeper personal experiences and the gradual disaffection with organised Catholicism. The following paragraphs will attempt to piece together the available information with a view to investigating the evident heterodoxy of the poet's response towards spiritual problems and ultimate why-questions.

Jiménez, like his 98 contemporaries, was an idealist, a 'nostálgico de ideal' tormented by an awareness of the impassable gulf between a hostile surrounding reality and inner vision. In their abhorrence of reality and their questioning of life's ultimate finality, Modernists and 98 were alike (cf. *JRUL*, 36). In 'Rejas de oro' (*Vida Nueva*, 87, 4-II-1900), a review of a play by his Krausist-Socialist friend Timoteo Orbe, Jiménez contrasted a vision of a 'dulcísima vida de ensueños' with 'la sociedad moderna [que] es un gran organismo material; se traga a los seres; los digiere penosamente en su vientre ayudada por el jugo aurífero, y los arroja al exterior en excrementos nauseabundos . . .'. 'Ahí', he lamented, 'no puede existir parte alguna de idealismo . . .' (*LPr*, 219). We might contrast Jiménez's desire to rescue humanity from base materialist desires and to 'hacerla entrar por la puerta blanca de la felicidad' with Azorín's definition of the distinctive characteristic of the 98: 'el desinterés, la idealidad, la ambición y la lucha por algo que no es lo material y bajo, por algo elevado, por algo que en arte o en política representa pura objetividad, deseo de cambio, de mejoría, de perfeccionamiento, de altruismo' (*O. C.*, IX, 1138). What was the nature of the 'algo' Jiménez sought? Was it a purely aesthetic ideal as the preface to Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* and the early poetic collections seem to suggest? Or was it linked to the idealism of the period which finds expression in the essays and works of Jiménez's contemporaries — Azorín, Baroja, Unamuno, Martínez Sierra — and which is the inheritance of the visionary messianism of the post-Krausist era?

Juan Ramón was evidently attracted to the spiritual side of life in the college, for he recalled some ten years after the event that he almost became a Jesuit.¹ Yet, as one critic has suggested, '[e]l poeta evoca los años pasados con mentalidad de adulto . . . hay razones críticas serias que nos aconsejan poner en tela de juicio estas vivencias evocadas bastantes años más tarde'.² A scrutiny of Jiménez's school

books, especially the marginal drawings of a sacred nature in the *Manual de retórica y poesía* of Nicolas Latorre y Pérez ([5a ed.], Jerez 1890) and the account of the poet's membership of the Congregación Mariana of the college leads Saz-Orozco to conclude that '[s]u pensamiento religioso se mueve dentro de la teología católica. Los años de colegio le encauzan por una trayectoria de devoción sincera, con la característica que ya imprime la delicada sensibilidad del poeta en ciernes. Al salir del colegio se abre una nueva vida ...' (33). One might counter this proposition with the observation that it is not unusual for highly sensitive adolescents to pass through a religious phase. Jiménez's lifetime penchant for the spiritual and the idealistic would have led him to be attracted naturally towards pietistic devotion. The point is that emotional commitment rather than intellectual conviction based on dogma is all too often volatile. A second feature of the Jesuit education which Saz-Orozco and Palau de Nemes touch on is the study of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, 'la guía y el báculo de su conducta desde su infancia. ... [E]n la *Imitación* [encontró] su guía espiritual y la justificación de su conducta' (PI, 26, 29—31; S-O, 16—17). Certainly some of Jiménez's early verses 'no son sino eco de las verdades cristianas que Juan Ramón Jiménez leía y anotaba cuidadosamente en su ejemplar del Kempis' (S-O, 24). To the evidence of two *cantares* first published in *El Programa* (Seville) in 1899³ (I and IV) Saz-Orozco might have added *cantares* VI, XII and XVI. Saz-Orozco also detects among the poems of *Almas de violeta* 'una nota de piedad religiosa sincera. Canta a la Virgen María dentro del tono afectivo y espiritual en que se movía' (25). Yet '¡Solo!' and other poems of associated type properly belong to non-religious artistic currents. The principal impact of Thomas à Kempis was more fundamental than the affirmation of popular and naïve Christian truths in *cantares*. Moreover, these *cantares* have less to do with spiritual problems than with the tradition of moralising in poetry that had been reinvigorated by the reaction against sceptical Romanticism earlier in the century. In them we find a combination of the goodness and the piety of an Arnao, the *costumbrista* themes and the moralising of a Trueba or a Rueda and the cloying sentimentality and the lapidary concision of a Campoamor. A cursory reading of any literary or society magazine or work from the 1870s onwards would show just how perennial was the fashion for this type of *cantar*. Jiménez's attempts show all the conventionality of earlier models. In the Jesuit foundation of San Luis Gonzaga, subject to Post-Tridentine rules and Molinist strict disciplines, the young Jiménez would

have found what the Jesuit Manuel Alcalá has described as a 'religión positiva . . . que proclame en sus símbolos y en su magisterio oficial tantos misterios y tan racionalmente articulados entre sí'.⁴ Alcalá goes on to argue that the Catholic catechism and theology has often wanted in 'mystery'. It has been, all too often, subject to over-intellectualisation, especially in Jesuit communities. 'Subsistía, con todo, la alter-nancia . . . de equivaloración de los misterios de la fe sin la debida jerarquía y, consecuentemente, sin la elasticidad histórica que requiere una acomodación matizada y personal en la catequesis de los mismos. La consecuencia de todo esto, era la de una educación rígidamente dogmática con fuertes matices impositivos' (151). The point is that artistic temperaments, like those of Buñuel, Alberti or Jiménez — all educated in this College — would have found a peculiar difficulty with this type of training and its want of 'mystery', and its lack of a *personally* satisfying faith. We might, then, be able to explain why these artists, all of a highly sensitive temperament, would have sought the missing 'mystery' of the spiritual life which attracted them (religious or aesthetic) in Art rather than in the Church. The spiritual exercises of the college would have dwelt with considerable emphasis on the fundamentals of the religious life and especially on the problems of sin, retribution and death. The accent on moral turpitude, punishments and hellfire, asceticism, rigorous and cheerless self-mortification, rather than the joy of faith, probably depressed an impressionable, nervous and hypersensitive mind like that of Jiménez. The annual period of Loyolan exercise, a necessary and compulsory part of the College life, would be the most damaging. 'Las meditaciones sobre el fin del hombre, el pecado y el infierno', notes Alcalá, 'constituían piezas claves de la metodología ignaciana, que ordinariamente se ofrecía a los alumnos de una forma incompleta y, no rara vez, depresiva' (154). This type of experience is related in artistic terms in the painting of the Crucifixion that was executed about this time (Plate I).⁵ It might also have inclined Jiménez to the melancholic and pessimistic view of the world he was soon to voice in the poems of the late 1890s. It might explain in part his morbid preoccupation with death and the corruption of the flesh to be found in the many poems written in the seven or so years that followed his college days. The Counter-Reformation emphasis on the theme of *sic transit gloria mundi* and *in ictu oculi* of *Las postrimerías de la vida* and *Finis gloriae mundi*, captured by Valdés Leal on the walls of the Hospital de la Caridad in Seville (which Juan Ramón may well have seen during his stays between 1894 and 1898), was still very much a part

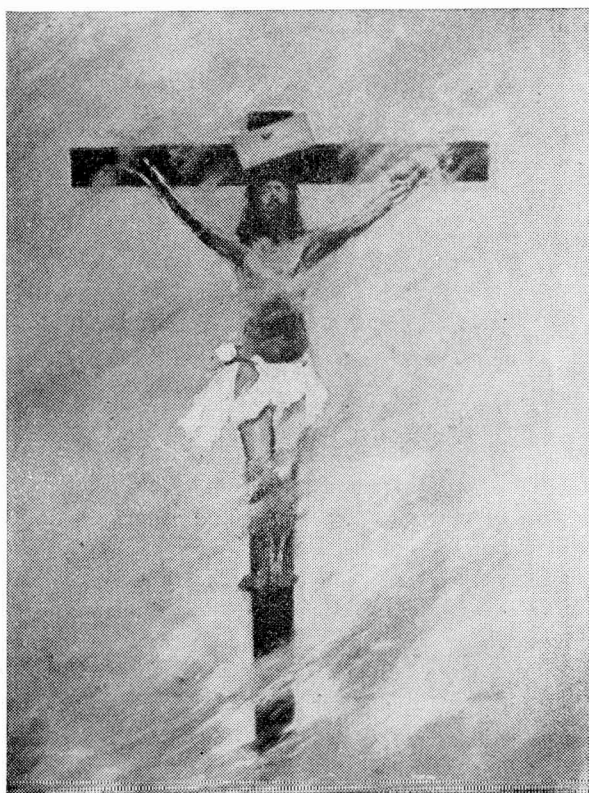


Plate I: Crucifixion. Oil. Painted by Juan Ramón Jiménez
c. 1895—1896. Casa-Museo, Moguer.

of the Jesuit educational system at the end of the nineteenth century. In addition the compulsory reading of Padre Nieremberg and other edifying authors may well have exacerbated Jiménez's nervous reactions. Jiménez was later to paint a graphic picture of his religious instruction in the Colegio. In an essay, dedicated to his college friend and fellow poet Fernando Villalón in 1936, Juan Ramón recalled Sunday morning lessons even down to the details of the forbidding textbook (*CI*, 80—81). Formalised religion seemed deadening to both spirit and senses alike. In a leading article in *Helios* in 1903 he expressed his personal conception of Beauty:

Las cosas bellas deben respetarse porque la vida las hace bellas; donde hay una rosa, una fuente, una mujer radiante, debe soñarse en un ambiente de divinidad. (LPr, 131)

By contrast he found the traditional message of Christianity less attractive:

El cristianismo pretende cubrir con sombras amarillas la divina belleza: los primeros fanáticos representaron a Jesús viejo y repugnante; las monjas quisieran valles para sus pechos y crean en una humildad miserable y mal oliente. ¡Malditos los asesinos de nardos, los asesinos de besos, los asesinos de carnes tibias, blancas y fragantes! (Por mi lira, pido justicia de amor para tales asesinatos). (LPr, 132)

When the Beauty of traditional Christianity lost its appeal Jiménez sought other sources of spiritual sustenance.

Only one of the religious manuals of the Jesuits seems to have left any impression of enjoyment or intellectual satisfaction: the *Imitation of Christ* of Thomas à Kempis. This work, as Jiménez was to remark on more than one occasion, was to make an enormous impression on his life. Within two years of leaving the college Jiménez showed clear signs of a thirst for 'spirituality' and 'mystery' divorced from the Grace offered by the Church. He also showed a fear of death that, if it did not prostrate him, left him in a state of nervous exhaustion and terror. He recalled of the autumn of 1897, that '[l]os médicos aconsejaron a mi madre que no me permitiera trabajar; estuve muy pálido, caí al suelo varias veces, sin conocimiento'. In the poem '¡Solo!' (PLP, 1531), dedicated to Salvador Clemente his painting master, he recounted that 'Malo, muy malo yo estaba / cuando se fue aquel invierno . . . ; / no sé de qué, pero el caso / es que mis dichas murieron; / y me llevaron al campo / a respirar aires buenos . . .' These attacks were to be the prelude to a series of nervous disorders.

Following the advice of the *Imitation*, Jiménez virtually withdrew from contact with the outside world. This led to a self-imposed cloistered existence, first with Dr. Lalanne in Castel d'Andorte, then with Dr. Simarro in the Sanatorio in Madrid and after 1905 for a considerable period in Moguer. Even on his return to Madrid he lived in the relative isolation of the Residencia de Estudiantes. After his marriage the series of flats that he rented were, for all the world, like monastic retreats. In the essay 'Habla el poeta' of 1907, Jiménez began with a quotation from the *Imitation*.

Si attendis quid apud te si intus non curabis quid de te loquantur homines. (Si atiendes a lo que eres dentro de ti, nada de importará lo que hablen de ti los hombres.) Estas palabras de Kempis podrían resumir mi vida y mi obra. Y ya dentro de mi alma, rosa obstinada me río de todo lo divino y de todo lo humano, y no creo más que en la belleza.

These words summarise an attitude that suffered no major change during his lifetime. On the fly sheet of his copy of *De la imitación de Cristo y Menosprecio del mundo* which he studied in the Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga we find a note written towards the end of the 1920s:

Citas en el libro. Líricos y críticos de mi ser.

Nota: Kempis influyó mucho en mi retraimiento.

Nunca me ha pesado la influencia de K. Copio (sic) las ideas tuyas que me decidieron más hondamente.

At this time Jiménez ambitiously planned a series of collections that were to include his own revised work set alongside the various influences, stimuli and affections (literary and social) which had shaped his poetic development. A Kempis was one of the most profound and long-felt of those early passions. In the biographies and the autobiographical essays we find the common theme of an obsessive desire for withdrawal from the world. Rafael Cansinos-Assens and Andrés González Blanco⁶ recalling the Sunday afternoon meetings of the *Helios* group merely corroborate what Jiménez was himself to say in the various contributions written for that magazine or was to imply in essays never published in his lifetime (cf. *LPr*, 71—146; 221—57; 899—917). Subsequently Ramón Gómez de la Serna and Juan Guerrero Ruiz gave eloquent witness to Jiménez's obsession concerning noise, the desperate craving for peace. His behaviour was to give rise to the story of the cork-lined room.⁷ Jiménez himself must have sensed his own inability to cope with the world at large for he was soon to call himself 'El retraído'. This fact may also explain in part the attraction to writers like Rosalía de Castro, Bécquer, Nervo and Verlaine. Of the twenty-seven passages marked in the *Imitation* thirteen deal directly or by inference with that aspect of the contemplative life which urges a withdrawal from the world as the basic premise for spiritual preparation. The remainder are concerned with the subsequent stage of spiritual progress, that of the personal inward journey towards the silence in which the still small voice of God is to be heard. The marking of these passages seem to suggest that Jiménez was absorbing the ascetic philosophies of à Kempis without accepting the

orthodox Christian base on which they were founded. As we shall see, while Jiménez, like many of his writer friends, was beginning to surrender his traditional beliefs in tune with an age that was, as many recognised, metaphysically ill, he did not surrender adherence to the traditional affections associated with those beliefs. It is the emphasis on the *affective* response to à Kempis that gives the clue to an understanding of Jiménez's obvious admiration for the *Imitation*. It is the *subjective* element of the religious question which might also explain the attraction of à Kempis and of northern writers.

II. A CONFLICT OF CONSCIENCE

1. *Krausismo*

B. Gicovate is only one of the many critics who disagree with Jiménez's claim that *modernismo* has a close relationship with the theological movement of the same name which was denounced in the Papal Encyclical *Pascendi gregis*.⁸ While G. Díaz-Plaja is more cautious in his assessment of a number of coincidences between 'ambos modernismos'⁹ there can be no disagreement with Rafael Ferreres' statement that '[n]o se ha estudiado el aspecto religioso de los escritores considerados modernistas . . . [T]odos bordean la heterodoxia, o, por lo menos, profesan una fe no arraigada, con vacilaciones. Otro punto que cabría tocar es la devoción o respeto a Giner de los Ríos y a lo que éste representaba'.¹⁰ Nor can one seriously challenge E. Valentí i Fiol's convincing case concerning the Krausist religious bases of Catalan *modernisme* or J. López-Morrillas' account of the impact of Krausism on *fin de siècle* thought.¹¹ Some account of the major aspects of Jiménez's intellectual formation and the ideas with which he would have come into contact may be of use in the exegesis of his early poetry, especially with regard to the foregoing comment of Ferreres and Jiménez's assessment of the origins of his *modernismo*. The ferment of religious ideas, the debates over *Krausismo* and Idealism were to be fundamental to the intellectual formation of many of the *Helios* brotherhood. Many liberal intellectuals of Jiménez's generation and the preceding one were subjected to a singularly significant experience with regard to their religious and philosophical outlook. Valentí has observed that

[c]ualquiera que fuera la forma adoptada por el liberalismo, política o intelectual, el punto de partida explícito o tácito era la afirmación de la autosuficiencia del espíritu humano. Los antecedentes más próximos de este principio había que buscarlos en el campo protestante: en el libre examen de la Escritura, en la libertad del individuo para juzgar las cosas religiosas sin que su razón tenga que someterse en todo punto al control de una instancia superior.

De ahí procedían unas actitudes que luego se repetirán en cada una de las sucesivas oleadas de renovación que, a despecho de contratiempos y anatemas, se irán sucediendo en la vida del pueblo católico: una cierta indiferencia dogmática, que busca una armonía entre todas las religiones, tendiendo a considerarlas todas como igualmente valiosas; una aproximación especial hacia el protestantismo, secreta o abiertamente considerado como una forma religiosa mejor adaptada a los tiempos; una inclinación a desatender los elementos sobrenaturales en la religión, a hacer retroceder la gracia y a insistir, en cambio, sobre las virtudes y valores puramente naturales. (32)

The men who best represented this strongly personal attitude to religious matters, the ecumenical view concerning a 'natural' or 'harmonic' religion for all men and an obvious penchant for the pietistic and ethical cast of Protestantism were Francisco Giner de los Ríos and his Krausist colleagues Fernando and Federico de Castro, Gumerindo de Azcárate, Manuel B. Cossío, Ricardo Rubio, and Manuel Sales y Ferré. Given Jiménez's intimate contact with all of these men, save Fernando de Castro, a brief summary of the major tenets of Krausism and its German Idealist philosophical bases might help illuminate the complex question of the shaping factors at work upon the poet. These years were to be crucial in his intellectual formation and in the initial phase of the formulation of the 'ética-estética', an outlook which was slowly to mature in the *Helios* group. The following paragraphs will attempt a reconstruction of the contemporary climate of ideas concerning the nature of man's spiritual yearnings, his aesthetic impulses and his rationalist fears, a climate in which Juan Ramón grew up. The present survey must perforce be concise. There is, admittedly, a risk of distortion in concise exposition. The reader is therefore referred to the fuller studies of the various aspects considered listed in the footnotes.

The nineteenth century had seen the confusion of religious sentiments with feelings of love and aesthetic pleasure. The basic differences between ultramontane, conservative Catholicism (which reasserted the basically 'rationalistic' Thomism of the mid-century¹²) as against the Catholicism of the Spanish Romantic revival (which developed from German Idealism) lay in the questions of dogma and of personal liberty in matters of faith. If the Jesuit teaching order was to ally

itself with the traditional Thomist line then more liberal circles in Spain were to adhere to currents that influenced Spain from outside. Indeed, *Krausismo*, which enjoyed considerable influence in the mid-century after the publication of Sanz del Río's *Metafísica* and the translation of Krause's *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* in 1860, was the high-water mark of the achievement of liberal intellectuals in fusing purely religious ideas of Divine Providence and Grace with the new rationalist allegiances demanded by scientific advances. More importantly, however, it also marks the advent in Spain of a 'religion' that was at once a purely personal and lay one unfettered by restrictions and dogma.¹³

In many ways Krausism might be viewed as one of the major positive responses to the collapse of absolute values which the Romantics had been among the first to perceive. The awareness of the continuing spiritual crisis provides the background to much of the work of Giner de los Ríos, especially his 'Del género de poesía más propio de nuestro siglo' (1865) and of many of his essays on education, religion and philosophy. What is interesting about Krausist idealism is that it conforms to the specific pattern of Spain's instinctive approach to problems of philosophy and progress. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga's *Juventud del 98* (Madrid 1970) correctly underlines that 'el conflicto España-Europa, en el que se confunden ambiciones (o necesidades) económico-políticas (la "materia") y valores espirituales, suele presentarse como si fuese exclusivamente un conflicto de valores' (12). 'Like the rest of Europe at a much earlier stage of the history of ideas', adds D. L. Shaw in his seminal *The Generation of 1898 in Spain* (London—New York 1975), 'Spain still tended to translate the issues raised by progress in any major field into issues of ultimate values, using mental categories derived in the end from distinctions between orthodoxy and heterodoxy' (10). The Krausists and those who came under their influence continued to think in terms of spiritual salvation instead of tackling the national problem at the socio-political level. Moreover, there remains the uneasy feeling that they are concerned less with the salvation of the collectivity than with personal salvation.

We perceive this attitude immediately in Sanz del Río's messianic message for the redemption of mankind as individuals and the potential for man to realize the fullness of his destiny as set out in the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*. Giner de los Ríos, whose personality and humanity made a profound impression upon Juan Ramón as the diary of Guerrero Ruiz and the essay in *Españoles de tres mundos* testify, not only upheld the ideas of Sanz del Río but lived

them. 'En Sanz del Río, . . .', noted Juan López Morillas in the prologue to an anthology of Giner's *Ensayos* (Madrid 1969) (*GE*), 'descubre Giner, pues, lo que con más exactitud que buena intención llamaban los adversarios del Krausismo un texto vivo, esto es, una doctrina practicada con el fervor y el dinamismo de una creencia, en suma, una profesión de fe. Y el parangón con lo religioso no está fuera de lugar si se repara en que el Krausismo era en fin de cuentas una Buena Nueva, un apasionado anuncio de que la humanidad se disponía a ingresar en su etapa final de armonía y plenitud' (9—10). If anything, Krausism was less a set of rules than a way of life. As such it proved attractive to young men who had lost their faith in Christianity but who still longed for some centre for their spiritual idealism. Jiménez, I suggest, was just such an idealist.

Krausism, like many other intellectual fashions in Spain in the nineteenth century, was founded on German Idealism and more specifically on German historicist principles. As such it had a peculiarly deterministic cast. When in 1880 Giner echoed the *Ideal* in his inauguration speech for the forthcoming session of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and called the young to unite 'todas las energías de la patria, para la común obra de redimirla y devolverla a su destino' (*GE*, 102) and stressed 'la necesidad de redimir nuestro espíritu' (116) he was underlining his belief in the power of the human spirit to bring about an evolution rather than a revolution in Spanish life. His emphasis on the revitalization of things spiritual is central to Krausist thinking. Man, by doing good and discovering the plenitude of his spiritual potential, should fulfil the potential for Good in the plan of the Divine Providence and realise God's Goodness here on earth. At the same time, the collective redemption was closely bound up with individual redemption and a part of the same inevitable evolutionist principle. Man could realise his own spiritual potential in that his idealism was at one with the Idealist principle of the universe at large. 'Entre [uno] en plena posesión de sí mismo', postulated Giner, 'y entre también en el concierto del mundo, el ánimo orientado y sereno' (*GE*, 108). Individual serenity is in some way linked with the redemption of the masses. We discover here an adaptation of the *Volksgeist* principle where preference is given to an inner spiritual history rather than history as a chronicle of events. It is what Unamuno was to term *intrahistoria*. 'Hacer hombres', cried Giner, and devoted his attentions to those spheres of human intellectual effort — jurisprudence, religion, pedagogy, literature, anthropology (rather than social reform, politics or applied science) — which might bring about the fulfilment of the

divine design, 'el espíritu abierto a una comunión universal'. 'Lo característico del krausismo', notes López Morillas in the introduction to *Krausismo: Estética y Literatura. Antología* (Barcelona 1973) (K), 'es que su misión redentora tiene tanto de intuición poética como de quehacer empírico. En definitiva, el krausismo sostiene que no cabe esperar el perfeccionamiento humano más que del hombre mismo, de la voluntad de éste en "llegar a ser lo que es", a saber, plenamente hombre' (10). Man can find personal redemption not through the intercession of the Church but by his own efforts. Moreover, the truly spiritual man can bring about the redemption of the collectivity. Jiménez was to realise this in 1949 when he wrote in 'La razón heroica' that 'el individuo sucesivo impulsa al mundo sin proponérselo. Esta idea es mía desde mi juventud, y desde mi primera juventud la vengo comprobando' (TG, 117). Jiménez's ideal 'sería aquel en que todos . . . trabajásemos en nuestra vida, con nuestra vida y por nuestra vida, por deber consciente . . . La vida y trabajo no pueden tener otro ritmo que el suyo, no pueden ser hostigados ni desviados de su órbita. . . . Trabajar a gusto es armonía física y moral, es poesía libre, es paz ambiente' ([1936] TG, 20—21). 'El poeta de espíritu', he wrote elsewhere in 'La razón heroica', 'el que comprende a todos los hombres y se comprende a sí mismo . . . , es el único hombre que puede en cada instante, ordenar y dirigir la vida' (TG, 119). But the regeneration of man can only be achieved by spiritual idealism: 'el dinamismo debe ser principalmente del espíritu, de la idea, debe ser éstasis dinámico moral. . . . Sí, insisto: hay que considerar la vida como éstasis dinámico, como acción en el pensamiento o en el sentimiento . . . absoluto heroísmo' (TG, 136—37). The stress on feelings as well as ideas is interesting and significant as we shall see. The emphasis in these statements of Giner and of Jiménez is essentially theoretical and idealist. They are not ideas (plans) but ideals (conjectures). They conceive of abstract forces of causality rather than formulate proposals for practical intervention. This led the Krausists and Jiménez alike to place little trust in socio-political reform and to a misunderstanding of the political and historical realities of the age. Even a cursory glance at the Krausist political record after September 1868 or at Jiménez's *Política poética* would serve to confirm such a comment. By the end of the century the young progressive idealists, Modernist or 98, had outrightly rejected any possibility of direct intervention. They chose to stress the role of the idealistic individual who might lead his fellows to moral and spiritual recovery. That man would be a sort of lay priest who, as Giner explained in 1880, was endowed with 'ese espíritu

educador que remueve, como la fe, los montes, y que lleva en sus senos, quizá cual ningún otro, el porvenir del individuo y de la patria' (GE, 115).

In this idealist movement non-traditionalist Spaniards found a system of belief which offered an emotionally and rationally satisfying *modus vivendi*. Its major feature was the importation into Idealist metaphysics of a Kantian moral imperative. The point here is that there were contending interests: on the one hand the call to orthodox obedience represented by the Jesuit influence in education, on the other the liberal centres of *krausismo* in the *Institución libre*, the few university classrooms controlled by Krausist professors (mainly in Seville)¹⁴, the centres of intellectual discourse like the Ateneo in Madrid and Orbe's *La Biblioteca* in Seville, or the neo-Kantian and Hegelian centres of the Republican and Restoration periods. The traditionalist allegiances of the one were seriously challenged by the speculative and personal liberalism of the others so that a tension was produced in the minds of those intellectuals who emerged from college and university in the late 1880s and 1890s. In progressive circles religion, if not rejected, had become a personal matter rather than an acquiescence to the rule of Rome.¹⁵ So great was the emphasis on personal liberty in questions of conscience that the State was obliged to excommunicate the Krausist academics from their university posts in 1868 and 1875.

Jiménez was well aware of public opinion towards Krausism. He recounted to Gullón in the *Conversaciones* that his friends in the University of Seville warned him against contact with them (57) and the indefatigable Guerrero Ruiz was ever at hand to record the comment that: 'entonces un hombre krausista era considerado como un hombre raro y peligroso, ... pues, él conoció bien esto por haber vivido cerca de Giner, de Cossío y de Simarro bastante tiempo' (*Viva voz*, 236).

In spite of this Jiménez admired Giner's 'vida ejemplar' (*Viva voz*, 41) which he saw as a model for himself. 'Don Francisco ... era sobre todo un vividor de filosofía. Por eso su ejemplo, su contagio estaba en su persona más que en su obra escrita'. This is a point that Unamuno and Antonio Machado were also to make. 'Lo que a mí me interesaba de la filosofía de don Francisco', continued Juan Ramón, 'era el resultado humano. Porque él no era un tronco, sino un dinámico' ([c. 1920] *LPr*, 923). Giner's living example was to confirm the theoretical aspects of Krausism which Jiménez had absorbed in the University and in the *tertulias* of Orbe. That living example,

as described in a note written the day after Giner's death in February 1915, is an apt summary of his own prescription for life. Giner was, wrote Jiménez, a fusion of 'sentimiento' and 'inteligencia'. 'Así este hombre dominado por sí mismo acertó a llevar cuanto se puso en su mano. Una voluntad en contra del éxito crea la verdadera virilidad: asco de lo fácil, apartamiento de lo bullanguero, idealidad concentrada, huir de la exhibición, del retrato, del alarde, de todo eso que se tiene por viril y no es sino lo femenino peor'. This amounts to a gloss of his autobiographical 'Habla el poeta' published in *Renacimiento* in 1907 and of the quotation Jiménez chose from the *Imitation* of St. Thomas à Kempis. More revealingly he saw himself as Giner's disciple: 'este hombre joven [Jiménez] ha de conservar como un legado de Francisco Giner en su natural destino los tres cultivos eternos: el de la inteligencia, el de la sensibilidad y el de la conciencia' (*LPr*, 925), the three central postulates of Krausism. Jiménez saw Giner and his Krausist friends as 'héroes españoles' in the sense given to the word by Krause, Sanz del Río and that group of confessional writers — Sénancour, Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Nietzsche, — who so dominated Idealist thinking in the nineteenth century. While Jiménez was to use the term sparingly until after about 1913 it is arguable that he had conceived of some form of personal salvation through an exemplary and 'heroic' life and through the redemption of the many along the strictly aesthetic-ethic lines of Krausist teaching (rather than salvation through the Catholic Church) at a very early stage. In the review of *Rejas de oro* (1900) he praised the 'grata fuerza moral' of the work. But this is not the terminology of the debates initiated by Pereda and Alarcón in the 1870s concerning the 'útiles enseñanzas' of literature. Rather it is geared to the fusion of 'utilidad' and 'belleza' ('provocación de emoción estética') which is central to Krausist literary theory. Jiménez goes on to depict a society who, in their base materialism, have lost 'el ligero soplo de alma que vibró noblemente un instante' and incarnate 'esa miseria sucia que mancha el honor, que ennegrece la dicha, que corrompe el amor . . .' (*LPr*, 214). He sees Orbe, and by implication himself and his group, as being the necessary 'héroes' (*LPr*, 218) possessed of 'alma' to regenerate the collectivity. Here, as in his review of Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule*, we find an uneasy combination of post-Romantic and Symbolist aestheticism and genuine post-Krausist idealism. When in 'Rejas de oro' he speaks of 'las almas grandes que se bañan en los lagos azules del Ideal' he employs the Modernist jargon of Darío. Yet when he extends the meaning of 'almas grandes' to suggest that

they possess some form of redemptive power through the nobility of their personal example he may well be restating Orbe's infectious Krausist idealism. We should remember that Simarro did not introduce the poet to Giner de los Ríos until the autumn of 1901 and that his first introduction to its powerful spell was in Castro's classroom and in Orbe's *La Biblioteca*. Later in the essay he portrayed himself withdrawn in an ivory tower contemplating the materialist world with contempt in the best manner of the Symbolist heroes of Huysmans, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and Remy de Gourmont:

... Cuando solo en mi cuarto, huyendo de la conversación vulgar y baja de miras, me deleito saboreando manjares de inspiraciones; cuando lejos de la vida material y solitario en el rincón de mi pueblo, me olvido del gran mundo que se agita tras *mis* horizontes, impulsado por móviles rastreros; pienso amargamente, con desprecio y compasión, en esos seres miserables que no sienten, que no piensan, que no sueñan ni lloran...'. (LPr, 218)

But 'compasión' and 'miserables' together with the emphasis on 'sentir, pensar, soñar' smack of the Krausist idealist's intention to regenerate man's sensibility. In spite of his fears of 'la imposibilidad de sacarla [sociedad] del cieno en que está hundida', his evangelism is quite specific. He would 'hacerla entrar por la puerta blanca de la felicidad'. Jiménez's attitude to life and his fellows may be the aristocratic aestheticism recommended by 'el maestro Darío'. It may also be an anticipation of the living example he was to discover in 'el maestro don Francisco'. When we consider Jiménez's *fin de siècle* aestheticism, what we term his 'modernismo', it is arguable that it contained an aspect which hitherto has been overlooked by the critics. When Jiménez argued in the interview with Proel in *La Voz* (18-III-1935) that *Modernismo* was not a literary school but 'un movimiento general que abarcó a todo' and went on in his lectures on the subject in 1953 to say that 'todo cae dentro del modernismo porque todo es expresión en busca de algo nuevo hacia el futuro' (*Mod*, 229) he seems to be suggesting that Modernism was in reality nothing less than that huge spiritual and idealistic impellent which emerged from the Krausist and German Idealist movement and which was described variously by other of his contemporaries as a 'gran aspiración hacia lo infinito', an 'ansia indeterminada a la idealidad' (Baroja), 'la idealidad, la ambición y la lucha por algo ... elevado', 'ambiente de ... idealidad' (Azorín), 'elementos espirituales', 'un inexhausto fondo de idealismo', 'hambre de eternidad' (Unamuno), 'elementos nuevos para renovar la vida' (Ganivet). Jiménez went on to relate it with the theological

movement of the same name which is closely related to Krausist thought as Valentí has demonstrated. When Juan Ramón stressed that 'el modernismo tiene un aspecto teológico y que la poesía llamada modernista, . . . pretendía, y Rubén Darío lo dice, unir la tradición, española en este caso (léase el dogma), a las innovaciones formales (léase descubrimientos científicos)' (*Mod*, 521), it is possible that he was saying that his aesthetics involved something more than a search for the Beautiful and the creation of hedonistic, ivory-tower worlds of self-contemplation. It seems to involve some form of permanent principle associated with Spain's great literary past ('dogma') and a scientific principle which involved a major reappraisal of man's attitude to the world ('descubrimientos científicos').

One of the major features of Krausist aesthetics was the intimate bond conceived by its adherents between art and history. While the personality of an artist might appear in a work there was as much interest in the artefact as a manifestation of 'the spirit of the nation' (the *Volksgeist*). 'La intimidad de un pueblo entero se manifiesta en su literatura con más exactitud que en ninguna de sus creaciones culturales', states López Morillas. 'Porque en el conjunto de sus obras literarias un pueblo nos deja constancia de su peculiar manera de habérselas con la realidad; nos da testimonio de sus afanes e ideales, de sus torpezas y fracasos; nos descubre, en suma, los entresijos de su alma' (*K*, 18—19). The historian is unable to give an accurate account of 'el genuino espíritu colectivo'. 'Suprímase la literatura de un pueblo', wrote Giner in 'Consideraciones sobre el desarrollo de la literatura moderna' (1862), 'y en vano se apelará para reconstituir su historia política'. This attitude to the nation's literary past is, as Shaw and Ramsden have ably demonstrated, central to the thinking of the Generation of 1898. Jiménez's conscious cultivation of traditional forms and his desire to recreate 'lo popular auténtico' in his verses and his concern in essay after essay with 'la línea poética interior' which he believed ran from Manrique through the mystics to the poetry of himself and Antonio Machado suggest, as the concluding chapter argues in greater detail, that Jiménez belonged to the same intellectual tradition and approached the common problems of the age in a similar way. Rather than define the phenomenon in terms of a specific generation he chose to call it '*Modernismo*'.

In the epilogue to *Españoles de tres mundos* he wrote 'Llamé héroes a los españoles que en España se dedican más o menos decididamente a disciplinas estéticas o científicas'. 'Ambiente inadecuado, indiferente, hostil como en España', he continued,

no creo que los encuentre el poeta, el filósofo, en otro país de este mundo. ... Ruido, mala temperatura, grito, incomodidad, picos, necesidad de alteración política, falta de respeto, pago escaso, etc., todo contribuye a que el hombre interior español viva triste. (La tristeza que tanto se ha visto en mi obra poética nunca se ha relacionado con su motivo más verdadero: la angustia del adolescente, el joven, el hombre maduro que se siente desligado, solo, aparte en su vocación bella). Como en los tiempos de Larra ... hoy y en todos los tiempos seguramente, escribir, pintar, filosofar, esculpir, mirar los astros, crear o investigar, en suma, es en España llorar.

But, as Jeschke (*La Generación del 98 en España* [Madrid 1954]) and López Morillas (*Hacia el 98* [Barcelona 1972]) have shown, the 'crisis de la conciencia española' of the 1880s and the 1890s resulted from a radical scepticism so that Krausists and 98 alike saw the national problem as the collective form of their own dilemma and hence projected on to it their own hoped-for solution. Jiménez, I submit, reacted similarly. The 'tristeza' to which he refers results more from a radical loss of life-directing ideals than from the frustrations of living and working in Spain. It was not the post-Romantic and Symbolist aesthetic ideals alone which appealed to his hypersensitive temperament as a possible avenue towards the recovery of existential confidence. I suggest that the aesthetic and the ethical idealism of Krausist teaching exerted a further and complementary influence over his intellectual formation. If we accept the definition of Modernism in this sense then we must accept without reservation Ramsden's assessment of the distinctions between Modernism and the Generation of 1898: 'What is distinctive in the Modernist age is not the revolt against existing social structures (a common enough phenomenon) but that a new ethic was asserted through aesthetics. Modernism is a renaissance in the sense in which Azorín himself defined the term, an opening up to currents from abroad, part of an international movement. ... The opposition between the Modernists' "exterioridad" or superficiality and the 98 Generation's "interioridad" or profundity is false. Form and content are fused. Modernism and 98 Generation are alike quests for what is "dentro del alma"' (*JRUL*, 27—28). Indeed it was precisely the ethical component inherited from the post-Krausist period, rather than the aesthetics of Symbolism, which was to survive and dominate Jiménez's thinking. It is arguable that certain aspects of Symbolist doctrine were to survive the 'baja de Francia' after about 1913 and the repudiation of the early collections as 'borradores silvestres'. But we should not forget that Jiménez termed the period between the end of the century and 1913 as a 'fenómeno pasajero del Modernismo' after which came the 'retorno o reacción más hacia una

poesía exageradamente sencilla y aun tradicional (española)' (*Viva voz*, 71). He is speaking of aesthetic *modernismo*.

Even in such a *modernista* essay (in this last sense of the word) as 'La copa del rey de Thule' we find a distinctive idealist colouring in Jiménez's critical attitude. Having made the almost obligatory *modernista* attack on the Antonio de Valbuena critical faction he goes on to condemn them for their failure to 'feel' with the work. 'Cierto es', argues Jiménez,

que no se ha de exigir al que lee, toda la fiebre del que crea, pues, a más de que no son uno todos los caracteres, a aquéllos que fuesen análogos no podrá pedirse el arrebató en un momento determinado. Pero, ya que esto es imposible, *bien pudiera el crítico elevarse y juzgar la obra desde un punto universal*, contemplándola en el terreno que le corresponda y no desde el suyo siempre . . .; *habría que compenetrarse con el poeta en una fusión de almas*. Solo así resbalaría ante los ojos la inspiración tallada, cual un cuerpo vago pero completo, como una obra entera. De otro modo se destroza la obra y se hace más bien crítica formal que absoluta. En vez de analizar químicamente un libro, *debe estudiarse un espíritu, y este estudio debe ser un paseo al través de un alma artística*'.

(*LPr*, 212. My emphasis)

We discover here, as in many other progressive intellectuals at the end of the century, a curious dualism. On the one hand they repudiate or mistrust the empirical sciences and Positivism; on the other, as Unamuno remarked in 1893 'es preciso tener fe en la ciencia' (II, 926). Ramsden's major studies of the 98 have demonstrated brilliantly that it was to the science of evolutionism that the men of the 98 looked for the synthesis and the integration of life-giving ideals which they lacked. 'In short', he writes, 'despite their proclaimed respect for science, despite their manifest determinism, despite their much emphasized desire to draw close to reality, the great writers of the 98 Generation ultimately convert Spain, its people and its landscape into exteriorizations of their own individual *yos*. In so far as they are intellectuals it is rationalization rather than reason that guides them. The underlying determinist scheme places little restraint on emotive disposition. A disillusioned or embittered or anguished view at one point in the schema is causally consistent with a disillusioned or embittered or anguished view at all points, and amidst the vast panorama of Spanish life and civilization over which the men of 98 range there is evidence to support every view. But each seeks only to support his own view. . . . Evidence is used to confirm rather than to test hypotheses' (*JRUL*, 56—57). It is in the application of the principle of causality to the national problem, the discovery of fundamental and

persistent national traits causally linked to specific physical conditions and the extension of these causal relationships to history, institutions, philosophy, literature and art and, in the final analysis, the self-projection of the individual problem onto the national one, which remain the unifying characteristics of Jiménez's contemporaries in the Generation of 1898. It seems likely that Jiménez adopted a similar response. He does not seem to have shared the general enthusiasm for Taine. Nevertheless, Federico de Castro's lectures on 'Metafísica y Historia Crítica de España' undoubtedly contained the same emphasis on the *Volksgeist* of the German Historical School as did the major works of the Frenchman. By the end of the century the notion of 'el alma castellana', 'el espíritu español' had become a commonplace.

Now Krausist artistic theory, as López Morillas has pointed out, 'debe ser examinado en íntima relación con la filosofía krausista de la historia' (K, 15). 'El recto entendimiento de la obra artística exige que la examinemos, como joya en su montura, engastada en su particular *locus* temporal y espacial' (K, 15). As for the 98 who inherited the idea from the Institución Libre and from Taine, so for the Krausist idealists 'literature . . . too, is seen as a product of environment-formed character and is therefore seized upon as a means by which to understand that character' (JRUL, 51). But there was a small yet significant difference. They also apply the historicist approach but stress less the effects of causality than the evolutionist dynamic. They believed that art was a potent force in itself in the inevitable forward progress of man and the collectivity towards spiritual fulfilment. Art was clearly a product of a given society, environment-formed, yet at the same time it was a means and a measure of society's progress towards that destiny. This is another product of the historicist approach. 'La noción de éste [el acontecer histórico]', writes López Morillas, 'como avance irrevocable de la humanidad hacia su perfección terrenal, toda actividad, . . . será entendida y juzgada según la medida en que coadyuva a tal fin. La obra de arte tendrá, junto a su índole de realización de lo eterno en el tiempo, el carácter de síntoma o nuncio de lo que está por venir' (K, 15). This is the key to Jiménez's argument. He seeks an 'absolute' criterion for judgement yet rejects a 'scientific' or 'rational' ('químico') methodology for its discovery. He prefers the same rationalist rather than analytical procedures as his 98 contemporaries and their ideological forebears. The idea appears in another guise in 'Rejas de oro' and to this we shall return in the concluding chapter. Krausists tend to overestimate the meaning and 'feeling' of a work

rather than assess a work as an autonomous artefact. Unamuno's review of Orbe's *Redenta*, (which novel Jiménez had read) like the poet's review of *Rejas de oro* implicitly ask how Orbe's art contributes to the realisation of the 'ideal de la humanidad'. As Giner put it in 'El arte y las artes' (1871), 'toda obra bella es juntamente útil, ya en cuanto satisface necesidades superiores del espíritu, ya en otras relaciones menos principales'. What Jiménez was to call an 'ética-estética'. For all the exquisite sensibility of Jiménez's appraisal of Amado Nervo in October 1903 we perceive that the artistic faculty of man is the means to those 'necesidades superiores'. 'El ensueño', wrote Juan Ramón, 'es una nostalgia de cosas adivinadas y distantes, que viven, sin embargo, dentro de nuestro corazón' (*LPr*, 244). The task of the artist is to make the 'nostalgia de ideal' the 'ambición ... por algo elevado', real in the lives of men. In a review of Rafael Leyda's *Valle de lágrimas* published in November 1903 he might well have been describing the 98. He looked to other contemporary youthful idealists, 'una juventud que quiere trabajar, y que trabaja, y que va hacia adelante, y que empieza a imponerse en todas partes. ... Se hace el paisaje; se renuevan viejos decires, se traen de la sombra bellezas nacientes; se elabora, en fin, con entusiasmo, con cariño, con paciencia' (*LPr*, 250). Martínez Sierra was just such an idealist. In a note on his *La casa de la primavera* published in *Renacimiento* in 1907 he wrote,

Martínez Sierra es, ante todo, un elevador de la vida: si se sienta a la mesa, será para nutrirse el corazón; moverá las frondas del jardín y saldrán cantando los pájaros.

¡Elevación de la vida! ¡Trabajo amable y cotidiano! Hay quien habla mal de los poetas fecundos. ¡Dulce jardinero que vas todas las mañanas a tus lirios! Y no comprenden que el hacer versos de la belleza constantemente es como cultivar diariamente un jardín ... (*LPr*, 253—54)

Almost three decades later in June 1936 he clarified the idea and again used the gardening metaphor.

He hablado poéticamente a unos y a otros, y en dos o tres días he cojido siempre el fruto. Se les removía a todos el tesoro, insospechado para mí y acaso para ellos, de su propia belleza: pensamiento y espresión; eran otros en oír y hablar al contacto con la poesía. Y no he encontrado uno solo que se sustrajera, a su modo cada uno, claro está, a esta segura influencia. ¡Qué labor, ... la que podríamos todos cumplir cultivando a gusto la sensibilidad de los que están más cerca de nosotros, fomentando la tranquilidad de todos, imposibilitando guerras y revoluciones inútiles! ... En este "estado poético" todos estaríamos en nuestro lugar ... que la poesía tendría la virtud de llevarnos a todos a nuestro propio centro. (*TG*, 22—23)

Literature and poetry become, for individual and, gradually, for the collectivity a source of self-discovery: 'Los tres cultivos eternos: el de la inteligencia, el de la sensibilidad, el de la conciencia'. Ideas, sensibility and the moral imperative. Yet the manifest desire to discover 'nuestro propio centro' would indicate that for Jiménez poetry was also a source of self-projection. In seeking the redemption of mankind through Beauty and through a life lived in harmony with Beauty, 'the Beautiful Life', 'el trabajo gustoso', Jiménez was, I submit, also seeking his own spiritual tranquillity. In probing the spiritual destiny of his fellows he sought his own context and destiny. Unamuno recommended the 'conócete a ti mismo' as a 'razón de la conducta' of both individual and collective (III, 715). Thus Juan Ramón spoke of those 'momentos relativos en que el hombre de trabajo y de espíritu puede recojerse, por fin y un poco más, en sí mismo, ... a saldar su alma para abrirla nueva al día siguiente: la hora de la higiene mental, del examen de conciencia: pensamiento y sentimiento, ... instantes de la posible paz' (TG, 23). If the nation were to do likewise, he went on, the example would be infectious and a new era of peace would follow. A work of art must not only be the bearer of some form of redemptive message; the infectious idealism of its creator must be felt for the process to continue. Thus, in 'La copa del rey de Thule', as in many other of Jiménez's critical reviews, he exhorts the reader to 'relieve' Villaespesa's verses, discover the 'alma', the unique 'espíritu' which is the measure of man's progress towards his destiny. It is, of course, a revelation of the artist's own 'espíritu' and 'alma artística'. Villaespesa's collection is finally a reassurance of his own 'verdadero ideal artístico'. This view amounts to an aesthetic version of the 'conciencia colectiva' of the 98. In the absence of guiding principles they all seek meaning through collective self-knowledge. The Generation of 1898 seek it in the national character, in its landscape, its culture and its way of life. Jiménez seems to suggest that its artistic achievements are a mirror to the collective consciousness. 'En literatura', he wrote, significantly in a review of Martínez Ruiz's *Antonio Azorín* in July 1903, 'además de la esencia de las cosas ... y además de la forma, hay una esencia, *un fondo de esa misma forma, que es, a mi modo de ver, unos de los más interesantes encantos de la estética*; es un algo íntimo y aprisionado, que viene del alma de una manera graciosa y espontánea, o atormentada ... y que cae sobre el papel ... como cosa divina y mágica, sin explicación alguna natural. ... No está en la gramática ni en la retórica este encanto interior; se puede escribir admirablemente, decir las cosas de varios modos — y quedarse, al fin,

sin decirlas — y estar falto de ese don de milagro' (LPr, 234. My emphasis). Martínez Ruiz's prose, argues Juan Ramón, evokes the essence of the past and 'la melancolía de nuestra raza' in the present. It is this spirit recreated by art which, according to Juan Ramón, can bring about the regeneration of Spain according to some form of evolutionary principle, can rescue it from its present decadence — esterilidad, monotonía, — and spiritual decline. Villaespesa's collection will, implicitly, bring about the 'Hora Rosa' of 'Nuestra Patria' just as the 'admirables genios' on the other side of the Atlantic have brought about 'una evolución en el campo de la literatura'. Literary art was, for the Krausists, the most 'complete' and 'rational' art for the messianic task. Only the word, 'la palabra literaria', could reveal with precision and vigour the 'intimidad del artista' and the 'contenido de su alma'. Hermenegildo Giner de los Ríos went so far as to argue in *Teoría de la literatura y de las artes* (Madrid-Barcelona n. d.) that the *palabra literaria* is that 'dirigida a un fin con deliberada intención, plena de recursos, rica en contenido, armonizada con la idea y estudiada y pulida en su forma' (15). This is exactly what Jiménez the literary critic implies. The intimacy of the artist should reveal itself completely in a work of art and, moreover, since it is a product of man's instinctive yearning for Beauty which is the Divine Principle itself, it must reveal the 'fondo de esa misma forma', the 'algo íntimo' which encapsulates the vision of human possibilities for the future. For all the heavy aestheticist gloss Jiménez seems to be suggesting that in Art is to be found an eternal principle and the substance of progress. Unamuno had already argued in *En torno al casticismo* that '[e]n el fondo del presente hay que buscar la tradición eterna, en las entrañas del mar, no en los tímpanos del pasado'. '¿A qué hacer en nuestro siglo la vida artística de los siglos muertos?' (LPr, 207) Jiménez demanded in 1899. It is in the literature of the present, in the 'esencia', the 'fondo de esa misma forma' that the principle is to be found and which explains the enchantment of aesthetics. The appeal of aesthetics can be simply explained. First and most obviously Jiménez was, as the central section of this study endorses, deeply steeped in European Romantic and Symbolist artistic theory. Less obviously it is arguable that he had been captivated by the easy fusion of ethical intention and the cultivation of artificiality which comes from the heterodox nature of Krausist ethics and its close relationship with Art. 'El hombre, imagen viva de Dios y capaz de progresiva perfección', wrote Krause in the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* ([2nd ed.], Madrid 1871), 'debe vivir en la religión unido

con Dios y subordinado a Dios; debe realizar en su lugar y esfera limitada la armonía de la vida universal y mostrar esta armonía en bella forma exterior; debe conocer en la ciencia a Dios y el mundo; *debe en claro conocimiento de su destino educarse a sí mismo*' (3. My emphasis). Krausist panentheism identified the fundamental categories of finite beauty with the infinite Beauty of God. 'Es la belleza en todo lo finito (seres como esencias) semejanza a Dios . . .', wrote Krause in 'Estética'. 'Y esta semejanza la muestran los seres finitos en su propio género y grado, desde el cristal y la planta hasta el hombre y la humanidad' (*BRUM*, II, 20 [25-VII-1870], 1353). The pursuit of Beauty is the search for God. Thus Beauty inevitably includes notions of Goodness and Truth: 'verdad, bondad y belleza son . . . completamente conformes y hermanas entre sí, constituyendo como el acorde fundamental en la armonía y la esencia de la vida' (*Ibid.*, II, 17 [10-IV-1870], 1133). God is both Supreme Essence and Supreme Beauty, the Supreme Work of Art. The artist through his artefact creates something of that Infinite Beauty, realises some part of Godhead. Through Art Godhead can be discovered. 'Las obras de arte traen, como Prometeo, a la tierra un rayo de la belleza infinita; son una viva y progresiva revelación de la divinidad entre los hombres. Es bello lo que en su límite y género es semejante a Dios y refleja en sí con carácter individual la construcción del mundo, en unidad, en oposición, en armonía, (*Ideal*, 55). The artist does not create but 'actualises' — in the words of Krause 'hace efectivo'. A work of Art is a realisation and a confirmation of the eternal. This idea, of course, has obvious links with Symbolist aesthetics because of the common roots in German Idealism. The difference is the addition of the moral emphasis. It ties in with the historicist belief in the inevitable advance of mankind towards his spiritual destiny and the fulfilment of his divine being and an imported Kantian moral imperative. We note again the marked shift from ideas to ideals. The net result was the belief that the sensitive, the 'spiritual' individual should seek to live an 'artistic' (or 'beautiful') life. Such a life-style was to be sought not merely to regenerate the spiritual aspect of mankind but so that man might achieve the fullest potential for Good and for Beauty in the plan of Divine Causality. 'La vida toda nos aparece como una obra artística', wrote Giner de los Ríos in 'El arte y las artes' in 1871, 'desde que la concebimos y realizamos, no en el informe y confuso laberinto de contrarios accidentes, desorientado el hombre, pierde su centro y el dominio de sí propio . . . sino como el régimen libre, discreto, bien medido, firme y flexible a la vez de nuestra conducta en

todas las relaciones. Conforme a cuyo sentido es llano que cada fin de razón puede y debe ser cultivado artísticamente, como elemento del destino y obra de la humanidad, que se despliega armonioso en todos ellos y a través de sus infinitos círculos, relaciones, estados, cual en otros tantos episodios de su dramática historia' (*K*, 92). One might compare this dictum with Jiménez's essays on Giner under the title 'Un andaluz de fuego' (*LPr*, 919—38), the emphasis on 'el trabajo gustoso' in the essay of that title (*TG*, 17—34), the lyrical and sympathetic portrait of 'Henry A. Wallace, el mejor' (1944, *CI*, 201—07) and Jiménez's oracular statement that 'viviendo todos en nuestro estado natural de poesía y siendo todo poético de verdad, no haría falta otro estímulo que el mismo fin' (1936; *TG*, 19). We perceive from this that the looked-for collective salvation is really a longing for individual life-directing ideals. Even as early as 1899 Juan Ramón seems to suggest, albeit in an unsophisticated form, that art could be a powerful spiritual impellent. He praises Villaespesa's 'alma de oro' which, by means of his verses, will lead Spain to its proper evolutionary destiny, that is, its true artistic (spiritual) potential. 'Digna de veneración y de respeto y de amor es la obra de los siglos vencidos, como reflejo espiritual del espíritu que los animó; pero fuera ridículo seguir siempre labrando toscas esculturas primitivas y adorando viejos ídolos ¿A qué hacer en nuestro siglo la vida artística de los siglos muertos?' (*LPr*, 207—08). In the Krausist view an age which seeks to recreate the art of another age is not simply an anachronism; because the inevitable evolutionary process has been hindered by wilful retrospection the gradual evolution of the spirit of that age must be retarded. Krause said that the artist possesses 'la facultad . . . de hacer efectivo algo esencial en el tiempo' (*BRUM*, II, 17 [10-VI-1870], 1133), implying that each age contributed something significant to the gradual but inevitable advance of humanity towards its ideal perfection. 'En la historia de la cultura humana, la historia de las bellas artes guarda con la total de cada pueblo secreta correspondencia' (*Ideal*, 141). Art incorporates and expresses the particular outlook by which a social group in a given age views and understands its essential personality and reality. If an age can express what the 98 would call its 'personalidad colectiva' in its art then it will provide both the artist and his audience with the direction they need. The artist becomes a *vate*. Such an idea might explain why Jiménez attached so much importance to traditional metrical forms and why he began to express his own hypersensitively aesthetic (spiritual) sentiments in the *romance* form on his return from France. This return to a traditional form

occured precisely at the moment when he founded *Helios* and began to associate with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. As early as 1899 he employed the terminology of evolutionary theory, of medicine and of botany. Even though he couches his metaphors in a *modernista* style we find him suggesting that each age must fulfil its own spiritual destiny as a part of a whole evolutionary process. 'El alma de cada día es un beso para nuestras almas . . . Debemos embriagarnos con el aroma y el beso de las flores de los días, rosas doradas del jardín de los siglos' (*LPr*, 208). Spain, he says, has failed in this enterprise. 'A Nuestra Patria — que pasará a los siglos como el símbolo de tristeza — no le llegaba nunca su Hora Rosa; todos dormían sobre el laurel de los genios muertos . . .' (*LPr*, 208). In this review we find echoes of Unamuno's commentary on Castilian *casticismo* and Giner's dictum that in art 'el bello ideal de los pueblos se depura y eleva secretamente en razón directa de la decadencia del arte' (*K*, 124). On 14 June 1902 in *Madrid Cómico* (Año XII, núm 24) under the heading 'Apuntes' Jiménez wrote a critique of his friend Manuel de Palacios Olmedo. Rather than speak of his verses, 'reflejos más o menos perfectos de los corazones o de los cerebros' he preferred to speak of the man, 'de su alma'. Olmedo does not simply experience Beauty in a sensual way. 'Sueña mucho dentro de la vida: cuando ve flores, piensa en las flores; cuando ve frondas, piensa en las frondas . . . En todo esto se adivina el predominio del cerebro'. This suggests that the artist is not merely 'creating' Beauty but fulfilling 'la facultad . . . de hacer efectivo algo esencial en el tiempo', the Krausist version of Aristotelian *mimesis* (*K*, 14—15). 'Creo', Jiménez continued, 'que hay que olvidarse de la vida y hacer la poesía de ella con el recuerdo de lo inevitablemente vivido, o con la adivinación . . . ese misterio escondido bajo el cristianismo' (My emphasis). In what follows Jiménez seems to express almost exactly the Krausist artistic theories discussed here and the idealistic spirit of the *Ideal de la humanidad*. We also find echoes of the Ginerian desire to 'hacer hombres', to 'redimir nuestro espíritu' through the 'función ética del bello arte' which enshrines 'la vida del espíritu', 'el ideal que preside la vida de cada ser', 'la obra de conocernos a nosotros mismos, con ser todo interior'. We might note in passing that 1902 marks the transition from the direct influence of the sensual poetry of Darío, Reina and Rueda to the 'poesía de tono menor, todo interior' of the years of *Arias tristes* and *Jardines lejanos*. 'Yo prefiero lo nuevo', stated Juan Ramón in 'Apuntes',

un afán, una intuición, una libertad. . . . Había que soñar a la poesía como

una acción, como una fuerza espiritual que anhelando ser más, desenvolviéndose en sí misma, creara con su propia esencia una vida nueva, un mundo mágico . . . Entonces viviríamos una vida de amor y de piedad, y no tendríamos que pensar en un planeta en donde ahora empieza la vida de la belleza, ni en obligar al alma a salir, con el empuje de una bala.

En todos los tiempos ha habido almas grandes que, viviendo de sí mismas, han roto con grandes eslabones de oro la monotonía de los eslabones de hierro de la cadena de la vida; y esos eslabones constituyen por sí solos . . . a través de los siglos, una cadena espiritual de arte y de independencia. (My emphasis)

In this statement Jiménez expresses the essence of what Giner had already argued in 'El arte y las artes' and 'Consideraciones sobre el desarrollo de la literatura moderna'. He also seems to echo the substance of Unamuno's comments on Spain's literary past in *En torno al casticismo* and anticipate the line of argument of Azorín's *La ruta de Don Quijote* (1905) (and Unamuno's *La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* of the same year) and *Un pueblecito: Riofrío de Ávila* which Jiménez was to edit in the Residencia de Estudiantes in 1916. One might quote other examples. As the men of the 98, in their travels and their reading, were not only looking for Spain but were also looking for themselves, Jiménez sought himself and his nation's destiny in the 'línea poética interior' and the poetry of the 'almas grandes': Castillejo, Manrique, San Juan de la Cruz, Santa Teresa, Espronceda, Bécquer, the regional poets of Cataluña and Galicia, Unamuno and Antonio Machado (TG, 97, 100, 224—25 and passim). By far the majority of critics have emphasised the 'dos épocas' in Jiménez's work and a marked watershed with the publication of the *Diario de un poeta recién casado* in 1916. Yet 'Apuntes' contains, albeit writ small, the central arguments of the *Política poética* written thirty-four years later and of essays like 'Aristocracia y democracia', 'Poesía cerrada y poesía abierta' and 'La razón heroica' written in the 1940s. Even the most cursory reading would confirm this contention. Without a clear understanding of Jiménez's apprenticeship his later work lacks its proper perspective.

We should not underestimate, then, the heterodox nature of Krausist ethical spirituality and its relationship with Art. Krause's diffuse artistic theories as interpreted in Spain, mainly through Giner's translation of the *Abriss der Aesthetik* (*Compendio de estética* [Seville 1874]), postulated three interrelated ideas. Pure artistic endeavour engenders, first, a spiritual idealism; second, the value of art lies in its ability to give meaning to life; art possesses a synthesising power which will 'sensibilizar con carácter individual lo infinito en lo

finito¹⁶; third, art is a social and ethical dynamic which is destined to fulfil the divine plan prepared for mankind. Thus, in tune with the ideas of Carlyle and Ruskin which were to penetrate into Spain later in the century, artistic activity is equated with a simultaneous realisation of spiritual selfhood and of the purposes of Divine Will. Sanz del Río uses the phrase 'el arte de la vida' interchangeably with 'el arte del bello ideal' in the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*. 'Lo Bello', wrote Krause in the 'Estética',

es conocido como bueno, esto es, como algo esencial que debe realizarse en la vida y como elemento fundamental, en consecuencia, del destino humano. . . . [R]econoce y halla un particular precepto de la ley moral *en el de contemplar, sentir, querer y formar lo Bello*. . . . *Esta aspiración práctica a lo Bello, con la actividad artística a ella consiguiente, son a su vez en sí mismas parte esencial de la interior Belleza humana*. Toda la naturaleza humana constituye una unidad orgánica, y unidad en su límite completa, perfecta, acabada, panarmónica, bella por tanto, abrazando en su Belleza la corporal y la espiritual y recibiendo en la vida religiosa una superior y divina santificación. El hombre bello, como ser que conoce y siente, es la *bella alma*. . . . Esto dice lo que el hombre conforme a su eterno destino debe y en su gradual desenvolvimiento en el tiempo puede ser, si él aspira a vivir bella y buenamente. . . . Lo Bello, pues, y el hombre están destinados uno para otro, coincidiendo en lo común divino y conmoviendo al espíritu estéticamente cultivando todo cuanto muestra estas esenciales propiedades. De aquí nace este precepto: "*embélece a ti propio para ser receptivo y simpático hacia todo lo Bello exterior a ti, en espíritu, ánimo y vida*". . . . [Q]ue el hombre posea, en la esfera en que es tal, la mayor receptividad y el más delicado sentido estético para todo cuanto le rodea; que el espectáculo de la Belleza y su comunicación con ella influya tan eficazmente para el embellecimiento de los hombres y los pueblos. (My emphasis)

The quotation is a long one but in it, I suggest, can be found an explanation for Jiménez's rejection of orthodox Christianity and his espousal of the absolute of Beauty. In the idealism of the Krausists he found a doctrine which not only justified and explained his aesthetic hypersensitivity but which also placed it in a meaningful context. Beauty as an absolute offered inner worlds of self-contemplation and hedonistic delight and there is no doubt that he found such worlds attractive as we shall see. It also offered both a value system which laid an ethical and moral responsibility for the less sensitively endowed upon the artist and a divine ground in which to place that hyperaesthesia. He was able to conceive of both a 'Dios Belleza' and of a specific role for himself as an 'alma grande' so that society might be led through 'la puerta blanca de la felicidad', so that his art should become a 'fuerza espiritual' and create 'con su propia esencia una vida

nueva'. This messianic vision for art was to achieve its fullest expression, of course, in his *Política poética* and the essays written in exile. An examination of the Krausist influence on them is not the purpose of this study. It is to the purpose to demonstrate that the conception of the idea began in the years of Juan Ramón's apprenticeship. The growing influence of Carlyle and Ruskin, along with Nietzsche, in the 1880s should not be underestimated in this early context. Indeed, it is arguable that the pervasive idealism of the Krausists prepared the way for the ready acceptance and the naturalisation of their ideas, especially among Catalan Krausists. In the work of these thinkers we find an accent on will and on moral superiority among an elect group of sensitive men. Ruskin went so far as to grant the term 'kingship' to those in possession of a higher moral state over the masses with the rider that such power could be used to guide them.¹⁷ In Carlyle and Ruskin the accent on will was focussed as an aspiration to Divinity. The vital urge to Idealism (Maragall's *neo-idealismo* and *neo-misticismo*)¹⁸ was impelled by energetic life-forces towards what Ruskin termed 'Vital Beauty'.¹⁹ Both men were quite clear in their definition of Beauty and the Beautiful. They included as a central element (like the Krausists) not only of the *moral* perception involved in its apprehension but a religious belief in the nature of perceived beauty. Thus Carlyle's 'Divine idea of the world' is virtually synonymous with Ruskin's 'the mysteries of God'. In their major works, soon to be known in Spain and to Jiménez, we have an amalgam of the Beautiful, the Mysterious, the Ideal and the Moral. This alliance of a desire for spirituality, a longing for the mysterious and the appreciation of the Beautiful inseparably linked with the Good was to become one of the foundation stones of *modernismo* in Spain and in Cataluña. The pursuit of the 'art of life' as described by these writers closely paralleled the experience in Spain of those who read or were less directly influenced by the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*.²⁰ Jiménez was educated in this ethos and his doctrine of 'el trabajo gustoso' was shaped by it. He, like the pupils and the associates of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and the coteries of the excathedrized professors, came into contact with what amounted to a lay spirituality with rigid moral principles, a deep faith in the spiritual potential of mankind and a marked regard for aesthetics. This type of influence on the formation of the young, idealistic and hypersensitive *moguereño* should not be underestimated. The *krausistas*, especially Federico de Castro and Sales y Ferré, and Giner, Simarro, Rubio, Cossío and Azcárate whom Jiménez was soon to

meet, opened the minds of their disciples to a specific ethical and aesthetic spirituality. A strong religious and pietistic sense pervaded *krausista* thought where every useful work and the articulation of beauty through art was believed ultimately to be a revelation of divine goodness and a realisation of the designs of providence. These doctrines would have proven attractive to Jiménez's idealistic temper as we shall see in the concluding chapter. The dominant theme of 'el trabajo gustoso' may have been a product of this type of idealism. First they would have confirmed his intuitive belief in the value of art as a spiritual activity; second they would have conferred upon art a value that he was unable to confer elsewhere; third, they would have supplied the need for some form of religious fulfilment that his now failing Christian allegiances were unable to satisfy. Juan Ramón subsequently recognised the importance of the Krausist inheritance in what became Jiménez's *modernismo* (and incidentally the dominant strain of the movement in Spain). From a lecture on *Modernismo* on 4 May 1953 Zenobia noted '[e]n España el modernismo se distinguió por un mayor sentido interior puesto que no hubo, como en Hispanoamérica, exotismo. Describir los centauros no es lo mismo que expresar la intimidad, como Bécquer ... La dirección es krausista ...' (*Mod*, 177). The intimate, hypersensitive and inward-looking poetry examined in this study may not simply be the result of an uncritical admiration of Verlaine and the French and Spanish Symbolists.

In the autobiographical essay published in *Renacimiento* Jiménez added immediately after his commentary on the quotation from à Kempis: 'Y ya dentro de mi alma, rosa obstinada, me río de todo lo divino y todo lo humano, y no creo más que en la belleza'. This statement has generally been interpreted as an expression of an aggressive devotion to conscious aestheticism and to Art as the supreme absolute and Beauty the overriding Ideal. It is possible, in the light of the arguments above, that by 'Belleza' Juan Ramón meant not only Beauty as an absolute aesthetic and a metaphysical value but Beauty in the wider Krausist sense of 'The Beautiful', 'The Good', 'The Truthful', and 'The Beautiful Life'. This might explain the apparent paradox of Jiménez's heterodoxy on the one hand and his interest in one of the leading Catholic theologians on the other. It might also explain the apparent paradox of an art, which has generally been regarded as ivory-towered aestheticism, leading to a model for life, 'un comunismo poético', an 'ética-estética'. As we shall see, the *Imitation* represented more than a model for the Christian life, a repository of Christian dogma. À Kempis represented another example of the

'heroic' or 'beautiful' life which Jiménez propounded and strove to achieve. Thus Jiménez's *modernismo* is not simply a part of the heritage of Symbolism or the influence of Darío. While he might speak of the 'nutrición espiritual e intelectual' of Latin American and French literary ideas ([1946] *TG*, 227) and affirm his belief in aesthetic élitism, we should not underestimate another aspect of *modernismo*, the 'Modernist' or 'idealist' aspect. He was, after all, to assert that 'La Institución fue el verdadero hogar de esa fina superioridad intelectual y espiritual que yo promulgo: poca necesidad material y mucha ideal' (*TG*, 225). In his dedication to Art as a supreme value he found some form of life-directing ideal. In his dedication to the ideal of life through Beauty he discovered a mode of living through which he discovered his *dios deseado y deseante*. The example of his art, his created Beauty, he believed, would both regenerate the collectivity and bring individual salvation. 'Yo creo', he wrote in 1939,

que el ideal pudiera consistir en hacer ideal la vida, ... Si nosotros fomentamos la aspiración a lo ideal en los demás, estaremos mucho más cerca de realizarlo, ... *Hay que encontrar el ideal, insisito, encontrarnos el centro de la vida*, el diamante del venero; y para encontrarnos ese vivero que es el venero, hay que estasiarse primero en ella, como el poeta, para comprenderla, y luego, con dinamía mayor, amarla y gozarla, recrearla cada día en todos los sentidos de la palabra recrear y recrear también, cada día, la confianza en ella y la de ella, única forma de realizarla en plenitud, de consumirla sucesivamente, de conseguir merecer nuestra conciencia, nuestro Dios deseado y deseante. (*TG*, 193. My emphasis)

Beneath the rhetoric, which smacks of the oracular style of Unamuno and Ganivet, we perceive the common phenomenon of the age of spiritual crisis. The hoped-for solution to the individual, private dilemma and the loss of absolute values is projected onto the collectivity. We find the same instinctive trust in ideas which will be implanted by the directing 'spiritual' individual and be spread by example. We find, as Shaw and Ramsden have shown with regard to Ganivet, the same inability to define the nature of the new guiding ideals which are regarded as essential for the individual and national regeneration. Jiménez, like the 98, places trust in some form of evolutionary process whereby every effort to regenerate mankind spiritually is a fulfilment of some historical design towards a harmonious interpretation of life. Progress for man is dictated by his capacity for spiritual evolution. 'The source of such progress', notes Shaw in *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*, 'is personal sacrifice and effort by individuals who are capable of formulating new guiding ideals for

themselves and the collectivity; and . . . such individuals can be recognized by their ability to intervene positively in their own spiritual evolution and model their own souls by acts of will' (38). We perceive a common intellectual pattern. While Jiménez was rarely preoccupied with the themes generally supposed to be characteristic of the Generation of 1898 we cannot deny the common methodology in dealing with the common spiritual problem. The path to serenity for the 98 lay in the 'conciencia colectiva' of Spain. It was through the cultivation of Beauty in his life and in his art, I submit, that Jiménez discovered his 'conciencia colectiva'. 'Me parece a mí', he wrote in 1948, 'que nuestro deber de hombres en camino hacia nosotros mismos, nuestro destino, es ayudar a la formación de una conciencia colectiva' (TG, 141). That 'conciencia' was 'una conciencia ética-estética'. *Pueblo* or *Belleza*, the approach to the problem is the same. It is the same because it is the token of a common reaction to a common spiritual problem. It is the mark of a common intellectual formation in the aftermath of post-Krausist idealism.

It is here that I disagree with Saz-Orozco's thesis that it was in the period 1903—1905 that Jiménez suffered the major 'crisis religiosa'. From the available evidence it seems that the crisis had already taken place, a crisis that was to be exacerbated by his father's sudden death and the mental illness that followed. The poems which indicate a recognition of the metaphysical issues of the age produce a strongly spiritual response with a clear bias towards aestheticism and ethics rather than religious observance. The easy-going eclecticism of *krausista* ideology, its idealism and strongly spiritual cast offered an immediate panacea.

2. Modernism and Idealism

Pierre Jobit was probably the first scholar to point to the close relationship between the doctrines of Sanz del Río and the spirit of Modernist theology. The crux of this similarity rests in the common inheritance of German Idealist philosophy and theology.

Mais cette attitude même, en face de l'angoissant problème de la Science et de la Religion, nous savons depuis une trentaine d'années comment il faut le qualifier: c'est l'attitude moderniste, telle qu'elle a été définie et condamnée par l'Encyclique *Pascendi* en 1908 (sic for 1907).

...
Eduqués par des penseurs allemands: Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Schelling, Krause; ayant incorporé à leur catholicisme le rationalisme et le piétisme que

ces germains avaient essayé de fondre, les krausistes espagnols constituent l'avantgarde du grand mouvement moderniste, que l'Église dut condamner dans les premières années du XXe siècle. Nous les appellerons, pour plus de clarté, des prémodernistes.²¹

The portents had been abroad, of course, since the interest in German Idealism and Christian emotionalism of Böhl von Faber, Mora and Lista in the last years of the reign of Ferdinand VII. It could be argued that the intuitive and mystical stamp of these Idealist Christian trends proved congenial to many who felt irked by the restraints of traditional Catholicism yet who were not prepared to become complete apostates. Schelling's *Sistema del idealismo trascendental* appeared in Spain in 1877 and was republished ten years later by the Biblioteca Económica Filosófica indicating a continuing need for Idealist ideas.²² The major theme of the *Sistema* that 'la intuición artística es el único órgano que permite a uno concebir la interior unidad del espíritu y de la naturaleza' seems to postulate a close relationship between religion, knowledge and art, an idea soon to be taken up by many nineteenth-century writers. Schelling was concerned with the belief that art was capable of synthesising mental and spiritual powers. This theory, backed by the growing scientific knowledge in the field of psychology, was to pave the way for the perception of the unity of being by the visionary artists of the *fin de siècle*.²³ It was also to be central to Jiménez's formation.

It was Schleiermacher who was to have the most profound effect in the sphere of religious thinking. Among the Krausists the idea of an intuitive and personal religious spirit based on the feeling of a common communion with the infinite on which all feel absolute dependence for their personal ethic belongs, as P. Jobit noticed, to the *Abhängigkeitsgefühl* of Schleiermacher. It was he who was able to combine the nature aestheticism of the German Romantics and the Schlegels with religious concerns believing that the new aesthetic interests were incomplete by themselves. His primary concern is to give an account of the special nature of 'religious' ideas as distinguished from others. He was also impressed by the significance of human feelings and intuitions rather than rational categories of mind. For Schleiermacher religion was a matter apart from rationalist disputation, knowledge or action. It was a matter of intimate personal concern within the man and especially within the solitary man. Religion, he argued in the *Reden*, was the intuition of the 'feeling of absolute dependence'. Thus Schleiermacher bids people look within themselves for the essential religious intuition and spiritual strength.

While Barth might term this attitude as 'negative mysticism' it had, nevertheless, a huge following in Spain, especially among the Krau-
sists and their adherents. The claim that the highest capacity of human
nature is realised in intuitive religion and spiritual regeneration had
an immense appeal to those who could not find their way back to
faith through reason yet still felt a strongly spiritual impulse within
them.²⁴ Schleiermacher also saw religion as a fundamental expression
of human need that informs all his other activities. Thus man's crea-
tive impulses are a type of religious activity. True spirituality is to
be found in the practice of self-contemplation, for the artist in art.
Intrinsically 'the religious' was a matter of feeling (*Gefühl*). Jiménez
was to see this later; he argued that '[l]a poesía no es razón, ni expli-
cación. . . . La poesía depende más del instinto; puede ser metafísica
pero no filosófica. Inteligencia puede comprender, analizar instinto,
pero no puede dominarlo'. (*Mod*, 97—98) As such Jiménez would
have sympathised with Schleiermacher's viewpoint which had little
time for dogmas and ecclesiastical institutions. He acknowledged their
due uses but preferred to emphasise a strongly mystical character of
thought stressing a passivity of attitude, the belief that all activity
is bound up with spiritual concerns and the need for the elimination
of selfhood. Indeed it is Schleiermacher's sense of the emotional recep-
tiveness of the human consciousness which leads him to a type of
aestheticism and the principle that God is the object of *feeling* not
of *reasoned* understanding. 'Faith is essentially experience . . . and no
man does or can merely reason himself into it, just as he may hold
it without submitting it to rational judgement'.²⁵ The result of the
stress on the emotional and reflective side of religion in the nineteenth
century was that of a heavy emphasis upon faith rather than rational
understanding as the fitting instrument of moral and religious know-
ledge. It followed the logical direction of the neo-Kantian belief in
Spain that man needed to separate scientific knowledge and the
'knowledge' of faith. Only the *feeling* and *willing* self can supply
proof of faith. When these individualist trends were further strength-
ened by the Hegelians in the Ateneo circles, (especially by Manuel
de la Revilla and Castelar, whom Jiménez met, admired and lamented
in death) and the impact of Carlyle and Ruskin began to be felt,
the imaginative and mystical aspects of religious experience were
coloured by a strong emphasis on reflection and intuition. Salvador
González Anaya was only one of the earliest to note this propensity
in his comment that Juan Ramón was 'el más pensativo de los jóvenes
poetas'.²⁶

III. THE MYSTICAL TRADITION

As the various Idealist trends and doctrines entered into Spanish intellectual discourse, were debated, and naturalised to spiritual and mental needs a strange mixture of 'religious' and 'spiritual' (or 'ritualistic' and 'emotionalist') idealism emerged in the 1880s and 1890s whose identity has yet to be determined. However, it seems very likely that Jiménez quickly adjusted to the intellectual climate of liberal thought. When he first entered the *tertulias* of Timoteo Orbe in the early 1890s²⁷ and the seminars of Federico de Castro and the other Krausist teachers in the University or the Ateneo, in September 1896, because of his inclinations and tastes, his individualistic, hypersensitive and emotional personality, he would have identified readily with these heterodox philosophical and spiritual viewpoints.²⁸ In José de Castro y de Castro's *Resumen de historia de la filosofía*, studied in the Colegio and in the University, Jiménez came into contact not only with a general theory of transcendentalism and aesthetic mysticism but also with a number of specific writers who, in Juan Ramón's mind, closely echoed the spirit of à Kempis as he had read and understood him. In the survey in the *Resumen* of the great philosophical traditions of the Orient and of Platonism and Neo-Platonism he would have discovered the classic theories of dualism: the outer world of apparent realities that is a veil that masks the inner world of eternal truths. This theory was tempered with the belief that unity can be perceived through some form of intuitive insight that transcends the rational categories of mind. For example in the section on Brahmanism Castro wrote:

Dormimos cuando consideramos las cosas como distintas de Brahma, desesperamos cuando la ciencia nos enseña que nada existe fuera de Brahma, sustancia indeterminada, sin nombre, sin forma, pero unidad en que se identifica el que conoce y lo conocido. Cuando llegamos a este punto quedamos libres de todo error, porque el error es la afirmación particular que supone la distinción de los seres; de toda ignorancia porque el que conoce a Brahma lo conoce todo. (19)

This is echoed by another extract from the section on the philosophy of the Middle Ages and the sub-section on mysticism in particular. In the passage on San Juan de la Cruz Castro recounts the stages of spiritual progress from the separation of soul and body to the moment of illumination, the feeling of the breath of God and the perception of the unity of all Being. In the essay on Fray Luis de León the theme

is repeated with emphasis on man's need to do good for the realisation of the unity of Being and the fulfilment of Divine Good.

Cada ser tiende a ser un mundo perfecto; es en todos los otros y todos los otros son en Él, y así su deber está en todos los otros y el ser en los demás en su propio ser; de este modo la multiplicidad se reduce a la unidad y cada cosa permanece distinta y separada. La criatura se acerca a Dios por la tendencia a la unidad. (197)

This Neo-Platonist viewpoint would be readily adaptable to the Krausist ethical outlook when read in terms of Jiménez's heterodox prejudices.

Virtually every historian of *Krausismo* has pointed to the fact that the 'new' religion of 'harmonious reason' for all mankind had within it the recognition that such a confident forward movement should act within the cultural traditions of Spain and that they, along with modern ideas, should be harnessed to the regeneration of the country. For Sanz del Río and his followers 'el krausismo guardaba armonía con el alma española por su tendencia ascética, por la identificación que hacía entre ciencia, filosofía y religión, y por la mezcla de misticismo y racionalismo que las raíces pietistas de la nueva filosofía facilitaban'.²⁹

It was the Krausists who handed on to the Generation of 1898 and the *modernistas* alike a reverence for the Spanish cultural and popular heritage and a belief in the potential of the artist to bring about spiritual rebirth. In the work of the Spanish mystics Krausist exegetes found a model whereby the idealistic and spiritual aspirations of man could be accommodated to a contemporary climate generally inimical to Idealism. They found there examples of a personal and intuitive insight into the nature of Divinity as well as a plan for the realization of the fullness of man's spiritual destiny in harmony with God. For the Krausists, as for some Modernists, the two ideas were intimately related. And Art was the essential link. The 'Certamen de San Juan de la Cruz' held by the Real Academia Española in 1891 was only the culmination and official recognition of the renewed interest in the Spanish mystics. In a *palique*³⁰ Leopoldo Alas cudgelled the latter-day 'mystics' of *fin de siècle* Spain. Yet Alas' attitude was always ambivalent. While he was basically antipathetic to the importation of foreign ideas into Spain he nevertheless admired the strongly 'religious' and 'mystic' sentiment that he saw in Baudelaire, Verlaine, Richepin, Bourget and Amiel.³¹ Indeed, he was the first critic in Spain, as well as in France, to accord literary respectability to Baudelaire and recognise the true value of *Les Fleurs du mal*. His essay on

Baudelaire profoundly affected at least one young provincial in Moguer who promptly ordered a copy of the Lévy edition (*Mod*, 235) which is now in the archive in Puerto Rico. In *Apolo en Pafos* (1887) and *Mezclilla* (1889) Alas was constantly to lament the aridity of Spanish letters and compare them, not without a sense of inferiority, with the vigour on the other side of the Pyrenees for all of the 'decadencia' and 'extravagancia' that he found there. What he looked for, in tune with the Krausist colouring of his criticism, was a synthesis of the new foreign ideas and a genuine cultural regeneration in harmony with the hallowed traditions of Spain. Despite his fears the pervasive power of Krausist idealism had already affected the new generation. The 'poetas jóvenes', to whom Alas looked, the generation of Jiménez, were about to supply such a synthesis. For Jiménez, soon to come into intimate contact with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, the new literary ideas with their 'spiritual centre', which he loosely termed 'Symbolism', were at one moment supremely modern and progressive and at another a reaffirmation of the literary traditions of the nation which had been formulated in the fifteenth century and had been strengthened by the mystical writers.³² Of course, this *Volksgeist* idea is a part of the ongoing legacy of the Romantics which had been taken up by the Krausists and was to be handed on to the young men who came to maturity in the 1890s. They firmly believed that there existed an identifiable 'literary tradition of Spain' which voiced the aspirations and the ideals of the nation. In fact it was no more than a desire to see in the culture of the past what they themselves most aspired to,³³ to give their own idealism a respectability which was denied them by the hostile reaction which their new philosophies had engendered in traditionalist intellectual circles. They found in the mystics the qualities they most sought: asceticism, a sense of moral purpose, pietism and above all an idealism which seemed to match their own *neo-idealismo*. Thus for Jiménez San Juan de la Cruz was a Symbolist. At the same time his own 'Symbolism' could give expression to the traditions of the past as a spiritual model for the present. When Juan Ramón read Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's essay³⁴ on the Spanish mystics he found there a confirmation of his own thinking. In the *Discurso* read on the occasion of his entry into the Real Academia Española in 1881 Menéndez Pelayo spoke on the subject of 'La poesía mística en España'. A number of interesting points arise in this speech. First, in tune with the currents discussed above, Menéndez Pelayo, for all his orthodox pronouncements on questions of religion and his monumental attack on heterodoxy in Spain, is very much the

product of the general intellectual climate of his age. Despite the fact that he insists that the finest mystic poetry '[s]ólo en el Cristianismo vive perfecta y pura' (II, 72) he nevertheless admits that '[p]oesía mística no es sinónimo de poesía cristiana: abarca más y abarca menos...' (II, 71). The setting of mystic experience outside of Christian dogma and of the Church itself, the subsequent reference to the need for a special 'psychology', the mention of an inner contemplative search, all coincide with the type of experience that Juan Ramón had already encountered. Here and in the sections that follow on the Spanish mystics of the sixteenth century, Juan Ramón would have found further corroboration for his inherent tastes. The concluding paragraph of the *discurso*, strange as it may seem from the pen of the *enfant terrible* of Scholastic, traditional and Restoration Spain, oddly presages the language of Jiménez's critical articles in *Helios* and his statement of the poetic ideal.

Poesía misteriosa y solemne, y, sin embargo, lozana y pródiga y llena de color y vida; ascética, pero calentada por el sol meridional; poesía que envuelve las abstracciones y los conceptos puros en lluvia de perlas y de flores, y que, en vez de abismarse en el centro del alma, pide imágenes a todo lo sensible, para reproducir, aunque en sombras y lejos, la inefable hermosura del Amado. Poesía espiritual, contemplativa e idealista, y que con todo eso nos comunica el sentido más arcano y la más penetrante impresión de la naturaleza, en el silencio y en los miedos *veladores* de aquella noche, *amable más que el alborada*... (II, 97—98)

If we were to substitute aesthetic terms like *Ideal* for symbolic religious terms like *Amado* the parallel between spiritual experience and aesthetic experience in the late nineteenth century is very clear. In the closing minutes of the *discurso* Menéndez Pelayo said:

Ni creamos que morirá la poesía mística, que siempre ha de tener por refugio algunas almas escogidas, aún en este siglo de duda descreimiento, que nació entre revoluciones apocalípticas, y acaba en su triste senectud, dejándonos en la filosofía un nominalismo grosero, y en el arte de la descripción menuda y fría de los pormenores, descripción por descubrir, y sin fin ni propósito, y más de lo hediondo y feo que de lo hermoso; el arte que hasta ahora no ha encontrado su verdadero nombre... (II, 109)

The analysis of the apparent poverty of Spanish literary genius, the implied critique of the rampant scepticism of the age and the attack on modern literary expression for relating an outlook 'sin fin ni propósito' had been a theme of traditional thinkers since the late 1830s. But Jiménez might well have taken greater note of the élitist implications of 'mystical' experience in this appraisal and the need for a

'new' literature to escape the Nominalist dilemma. It is arguable, then, that this essay proved yet another influential experience in the shaping of Jiménez's spirituality. Menéndez Pelayo's footnote to the effect that Mosén Jacinto Verdaguer's *Idilios y cantos místicos* were a manifestation of modern 'mysticism' (II, 110) may in its turn have encouraged Juan Ramón to read the Catalan's work. Menéndez y Pelayo also looked for a revival of Spanish letters in his own age, a revival of the spirituality of the age of San Juan and Santa Teresa, towards 'un concepto más amplio e ideal que el que nosotros hemos logrado' (II, 110). Such an ideal lay at the heart of Krausist ideology and in the hearts of those who came under its spell. The search for this 'concepto' was to be central to the writings of the 98, of Rodó and, as we shall see, of Jiménez himself. The *Helios* group were to discover that 'concepto' in *neo-misticismo*. For Menéndez y Pelayo the great spiritual traditions of the past and the looked-for spiritual revival of the present were two separate entities. For Jiménez who received his training in a Krausist ethos, cultural and religious questions were less clearly separable. Thus his comment on 'Symbolism':

Y a propósito del simbolismo: han dado ahora los padres de la literatura — los señores que hacen aun la vida literaria de los siglos XVI y XVII — el aplicar como denigrante el epíteto simbolista. No puedo comprenderlos; simbolistas fueron los más inmortales poetas. . . . Nuestro San Juan de la Cruz, de cuya prosa ha dicho Menéndez Pelayo que "no es de este mundo", fue también eminentemente simbolista, y pocas inspiraciones resistirán una lectura después de las inspiraciones sublimemente hermosas del gran cantor místico . . .³⁵ (*LPr*, 211—12)

The belief in the value of Art, the desire for a 'concepto ideal' and a spiritual renaissance were to be inseparable parts of Jiménez's Modernism.

IV. RELIGION AND AESTHETICS

The spirit of a number of passages of the *Imitation of Christ* marked by Jiménez are echoed in the *Resumen de Historia de la filosofía*. The statement in the *Imitation* (Part I, iii, 18) concerning the unitary process of 'aquel para quien una sola cosa lo es todo . . . y que en una cosa lo ve todo' as a means to God is substantially glossed with an aesthetic emphasis in the *Resumen* with particular reference to Plotinus. Castro highlights Plotinus' insistence on the intuitive, non-cognitive faculty which leads to a union with Divinity:

Aquí la multiplicidad, la conciencia, la persona desaparecen, el éxtasis es la unificación. Uno necesita una intuición directa. (110)

The subsequent account of the Neo-Platonic trinitarian perception of Absolute Beauty combines the mystical and spiritual language of Catholic belief with Platonistic aesthetics. Castro's account may be a measure of the confusion between the two which came to colour much of the thinking of the nineteenth century. In essence it also contains the substance of what were to be the aesthetics of *modernismo* and Juan Ramón's own poetic programme; what he was later to call an *ética estética*. If the term 'Dios' were to be replaced by 'Ideal' we have in one text in the *Resumen* a model for the search for the visionary world of Beauty accessible through the poetic process. The search for the 'Ideal', this 'Dios', was to obsess Jiménez over a lifetime.

Dios es la Unidad absoluta e inefable, la luz primera de que proceden ... la inteligencia que se identifique con la unidad, en cuanto el que entiende y lo entendido son la misma cosa ...

Lo que la razón ni comprende, lo ve el espíritu en sus raptos de iluminación sobrenatural.

La ciencia nos pone enfrente de la unidad; la voluntad se esfuerza por romper las cadenas que la atan a lo múltiple y por desgarrar el último velo tras el que brilla el Absoluto en su gloria, y el amor que halla el objeto cumplido de sus anhelos, se lanza a él rápido y ardoroso como el rayo. Confundido con él en el éxtasis (que no es más que una inmortalidad anticipada), el hombre posee todos los bienes y no siente ya ni el dolor ni la muerte, nada le falta, nada le inquieta, ni aún la suerte de sus hijos. (112—13)

Jiménez was strongly affected by the spiritual aspects of the inner life. He was also affected by the 'spiritual' aspects of neo-Platonism, its common bonds with certain Eastern philosophies and the Spanish mysticism of the sixteenth century. The rationally biased dogmatism of Scholasticism and traditional Catholicism seemed uncongenial, as it did to many of Jiménez's generation. The relative liberty of conscience of the spiritual and mystic way of à Kempis, as read by Jiménez, proved more attractive. As Jiménez came upon the first liberal intellectual stimulus in Seville he readily identified these new-found theories with the spirit rather than the letter of the *Imitation*. If Jiménez's marginalia are any guide to his thinking between 1895 and 1903 it seems clear that in the *Imitation* and the *Resumen* he found ideas which were soon to be accommodated to an interest in German Idealist aesthetics. Those of Bécquer provided the necessary link.

1. Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer

In the review of Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* in 1899 Jiménez wrote,

Y la forma, si es hermana de la idea, ha de ser algo así como la idea misma, intangible, vaga, ha de ser sueño y aroma ... Sobre la página tersa, debe brillar el verso, no como masa pesada de oro, sino como oro etéreo ... El verso debe labrarse para su eterna duración, mas no en masa, sino en esencia ... Así lo ha entendido también nuestro poeta, y su libro tendrá, con la vaguedad del sueño, la eternidad de los días ... (LPr, 211)

This statement glosses both Darío's cryptic comment on the ideal in art and Martí's many pronouncements on the subject.³⁶ Yet the references to perfume, dreams, ethereal gold and the pursuit of essences clearly hark back to a poet who served to shape much of the thinking of Jiménez's generation: Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. It was Bécquer, above all, who was able to synthesise the two major streams of Spanish Romanticism: the legacy of spiritual unrest and the idealistic Christian Romanticism inherited from Lista and Zapata. Thus the 'origen de esos mil pensamientos desconocidos, que todos ellos son poesía, poesía verdadera', finding expression through the poet himself, is God. Yet for all the practical exposition of the Catholicism of Chateaubriand and others in *Historia de los templos de España* and the confusion of religious and aesthetic themes, Bécquer's 'religion' of feeling and sentiment proved attractive for other reasons. Bécquer, like his Romantic forebears, carried on the tradition of the poet-seer, the man intuitively and emotionally tuned in to the world-spirit beyond visible appearances. At the same time Bécquer was very much a 'northern' poet (largely because of the evident German influence of his work). As the ideas of Ruskin and Carlyle were disseminated in Spain Bécquer took on an added richness of appeal. Bécquer seemed to combine the qualities of spiritual superiority, an awareness of the mysterious and the idealistic which lay beyond the appearance of things and a strong sense of the need to realise one's inner potential through a sensitive attunement of self with the universe. The combination of a strange mixture of Platonic Idealism, religious aestheticism and scepticism directly foreshadowed much of *modernista* art and the poetry of Jiménez in particular. Jiménez, along with the young men of his generation, was an avid reader of Bécquer by 1895.

Throughout the works of Bécquer there appear two major themes: the yearning, never to be consummated, to achieve total unity with

the 'desconocida esencia' of the latent world-spirit and the essential yet indefinable nature of that experience. This is the heart of the matter. On the one hand the recognition that there exists an eternal essence. On the other an equal recognition that any attempt to grasp that essence in this world is doomed to failure by the very inadequacy of human language and the tyranny of time. Thus Bécquer, like his heirs, is caught between the longing for spirituality on one side and the sceptical reaction to death and decay on the other.

Like many of the religious experiences described by William James, Bécquer's experiences are basically 'mystic' ones in the widest sense of the word. In 'Las hojas secas', for example, he describes a momentary sense of illumination as the mind is turned in on itself to comprehend 'los misteriosos fenómenos de la vida interna del hombre' (O.C., 642). It is arguable that Bécquer's rapture is in some measure similar to the 'inward way' of the mystics.³⁷ In the same essay Bécquer described another type of experience where the soul is apparently detached from the body and selfhood. Becoming one with the world at large it can give utterance to 'su incomprensible lenguaje' (642). This experience, too, seems more akin to pantheism and the unifying vision of mystical insight. The ability seemingly to disembodify the poetic intelligence and remain unaware of physical experience is part and parcel not only of many of the *rimas* concerned with the dream-state, but several *leyendas* and the final *Carta literaria*. Such experiences were soon to be described by Jiménez. In 'La pereza' Bécquer strives to find adequate expression for a mood that may be likened to the quietism of an à Kempis and the Sufis or the awareness of Divinity described by English writers of the 1860s. With an implied reference to the 'pure in heart' of Christian tradition he characterises *pereza* in a new sense, as a sort of dream-like transport and pietistic illuminism with a strong emphasis on self-contemplation and unitary feeling (657). This state appears to combine the two 'ways' of the mystics; yet it also brings accompanying thoughts of death, a note on which 'Las hojas secas' had also ended. But Bécquer is rarely concerned with the vision of nothingness within the vision of light and flame. He finds that the quietistic state, though associated with pre-occupations of 'el reposo de la tumba', offers a more 'positive' consolation. In a language redolent of that of the debates concerning the nature of energy of the early decades of the century and Ruskin's *Modern Painters* Bécquer suggests that the 'místico arrobó' of *pereza* raises man above scepticism and material concerns; 'se sienta con nosotros y nos habla ese idioma divino de la transmisión de las ideas

por el fluido para el que no se necesita ni aun tomarse el trabajo de remover los labios para articular palabras. Yo la he visto flotar sobre mí y arrancarme al mundo de la actividad, en que tan mal me encuentro' (658—59). The point that Bécquer is making is that the experience is unutterable and private. He consistently stresses the personal and intuitive nature of his experience.³⁸ The whole construction and language of the *Cartas* are based on the recognition of the fact that 'mystic' experience can only be described by analogy (629), or by an attempt on the part of the reader or listener to simulate or imagine a similar transport, 'lo que sé de una manera intuitiva' (621). La poesía es ... una vaga aspiración a lo bello ... es un instinto. La poesía en el hombre es una cualidad puramente del espíritu' (619—20). By a verbal sleight of hand Bécquer, (in tune with the Schlegelian religious aestheticism inherited from Zapata), equates poetry with religion and love, a spiritual force that the poet intuitively feels and which affords him contact with a 'ley misteriosa por la que todo se gobierna y rige, desde el átomo inanimado hasta la criatura racional' (629). This Platonic law is seen in pantheistic terms. It imposes a vision of unity that echoes Plotinus' doctrine of 'perfected beauty' when the perceiving soul has within it the perceived object:

que de él [amor] parte y a él convergen como a un centro de irresistible atracción todas nuestras ideas y acciones; que está, aunque oculto, en el fondo de toda cosa. (629)

That unity, expressed by means of luminous visions, points of floating light, clouds of shimmering dust or fleeting ethereal women, is, in the last resort, a personal intuitive experience, 'todos esos fenómenos inexplicables que modifican el alma' (630), understood 'por medio de una revelación intensa, confusa e inexplicable' (621). Bécquer's 'religion', his poetry, is part and parcel of the aesthetico-religious experience of German Idealism that had established itself in Spain by the 1860s. Friedrich Schlegel believed that the spiritual world latent in the natural world was the manifestation of the inner eternal nature of God. Bécquer would have agreed. If, as Jiménez admitted in the 'Elogio del poeta', he preferred sensation to reason, a felt response to literature rather than an academic approach, then one can understand his passion for Bécquer's account of his own aesthetic experience as 'un fenómeno inexplicable ... una plenitud de vida ... ensueños y fantasías, ... estando, como estaban, dentro de mí mismo' (631—32). Jiménez's review clearly partakes of the same aesthetic ground. The inward nature of Bécquer's poetic journey was, to the nineteenth-

century mind, the same as the inward religious experience of à Kempis. The enthusiasm for the *sevillano* may have found a coincident resonant chord in the absorbed reading of Thomas à Kempis.

2. *St. Thomas à Kempis*

In Part I, chapter one, of the *Imitation* Jiménez marked a passage that read:

Procura, pues, desviar tu corazón de las cosas visibles y dedicarte a las invisibles. (14)

Later, in Part II, chapter one he underlined

Aprende a despreciar las cosas exteriores y a dedicarte a las interiores, y verás venir a ti el reino de Dios. (93)

In this passage and in the passage lined by Jiménez

Aquel para quien una sola cosa lo es todo, que todo lo refiere a una sola cosa y que en una sola cosa lo ve todo, puede ser firme de corazón y permanecer tranquilamente en Dios, (I, iii, 18)

there might have appeared to a *fin de siècle* idealist a more than passing resonance of Hegel's trust in the ability of the perceiving mind to penetrate by spiritual struggle to the deeper truth of the Absolute and Schelling's central concept of art as power that can reconcile antithesis and impose unity on the whole of creation. In the one is to be found the all. In the same way the Krausist belief that religious feeling is the basis for all other human activity reappears in the marked passage.

El hombre bueno y piadoso empieza disponiendo en su interior las obras que han de ejecutar exteriormente. (I, iii, 19)

The intimate, personal and emotional nature of revelation and the assertion of freedom from ecclesiastical formulae and dogma, (which belongs to the theology of Schleiermacher and its offspring in Spain) is glossed in another passage which Jiménez underlined.

No desees familiarizarte sino con Dios y sus ángeles, y procura no ser conocido de los hombres. (I, vii, 30)

Si te abstuvieres de conservar inútilmente y de divagar sin objeto, no menos que de dar oído a los rumores y novedades, hallarás tiempo suficiente para dedicarte a las buenas meditaciones. (I, xx, 66)

En el silencio y sosiego se aprovecha el alma devoto, y penetra los secretos de las Escrituras. (I, xx, 70)

Jiménez was to admit, ten years after leaving the College, that he was 'gran amigo de la soledad' for whom 'las solemnidades, las visitas, las iglesias me daban miedo', for whom the College was 'grande y frío'.³⁹ The world of withdrawal, contemplative thought and quietistic calm offered by à Kempis, which echoed the sentimental and emotional religiosity of liberal theology, would have offered an obvious spiritual model. By 1901—1902 à Kempis' guide was to serve not only as a decisive factor in the development of Jiménez's aesthetics but in that of a generation. À Kempis' mysticism was a form of revitalized monastic piety with a strong emphasis on practical love well adapted to the needs of those who came under the influence of *Krausismo*. They did not feel the necessity for the totally cloistered life yet they desired intense spiritual exploration within their secular vocations. One scholar has observed that the unifying force of à Kempis' spirituality was available to men quite independently of church ritual.⁴⁰ The belief that Godhead is accessible to man's intellect in mystical experience by special spiritual preparation would have proved attractive. As his autobiographical essays on his childhood show, Jiménez was privileged by an extraordinary perceptivity and sensitivity to the world about him. He was basically an emotionalist and a dreamer. By turning inwards and gradually alienating the self from the call of the world, by leading a life of quiet, stillness and asceticism the contemplative can transcend that self to mystical insight. The ritual of contemplation and the religion of the worship of God are blended just as in Jiménez's 'mysticism' the 'religion' of aesthetic contemplation and the ritual of its proper practice — Art — are blended. To express the aesthetic experience the poet needs rigorous mental training and spiritual refinement. That 'spiritual' life or 'concepto' can be discovered through the creative act, in Art itself. If Juan Ramón found this type of life congenial and attractive it would readily explain the subsequent interest in and passion for confessional writers like Amiel, Carlyle, Ruskin, Novalis, Tagore, and the host of Persian and Oriental writers and religious books that Jiménez read and studied.⁴¹

V. 'LA FÚTIL GLORIA'

À Kempis' exhortation to set aside the vanities of the world and the temptations of the flesh in the Appendix to the *Imitation*, which the poet marked and underscored, were gradually and subtly to shape

Jiménez's outlook as he came into contact with the currents of nineteenth-century scepticism.⁴² *Ninfeas* has a strong erotic strain and a tendency to long for exotic worlds distant in time and space. Yet by the time Juan Ramón returned from France in 1901 the deeper significance of à Kempis' spiritual life as a bulwark against the world had begun to penetrate the poet's thinking. F. Garfias recorded that 'A la lectura del *Kempis* — su libro favorito en la época de colegial — había sucedido una tremenda inclinación por los románticos. En el Ateneo sevillano devoraba los libros de ... Byron, Espronceda, Heine ...'⁴³ Why? Given the sceptical cast of these writers, the rhetorical question

¿De qué aprovechó la fútil gloria, la pasajera alegría, la mundana influencia, la dilatada familia, la voluptuosidad de la carne, la mentira de las riquezas y la suavidad de las concupiscencias? (374)

could not provoke the Christian response which à Kempis anticipated in a heart that could find no room for traditional interpretations of Catholicism. Instead à Kempis' words probably exacerbated as much as consoled Jiménez's melancholy preoccupations concerning the vanity of the world. In an unpublished note a few years later he wrote:

'Los Jesuitas. A mis once años. Preparación para mi obsesión de la muerte'.

While such a comment was penned for effect it seems likely that the Jesuit emphasis on sin, retribution and death made a powerful impression on a hypersensitive mind that sought eternal spiritual essence in the universe. This dualism, the hallmark of the early poetry, was to become progressively more philosophised in later years. On the one side we have a poetry concerned with discovering the eternal and the non-temporal Beauty that lies beyond the veil of appearance, yielding a vision of oneness and divinity. On the other the recognition that death and decay mock man's pretensions to immortality. This theme first appears in a poem like 'Vanidad'⁴⁴ published in 1899. In this poem we have the associated thoughts of *nevermore*, corruption and nothingness. When Jiménez contemplated the beauty of nature, the delights of the flesh, the fresh smell of the perfume of the beloved, like à Kempis, he could see that no trust could be placed on objects or feelings that had no absolute ground or ultimate meaning. In 'Triste ley'⁴⁵, written in Seville in 1899, Juan Ramón recognised that the majestic beauty of nature and the world 'al fin vuelve a parar todo en la nada' just as in 'Vanidad' 'convertidas después en sucia tierra /

iremos a la nada, / lo mismo que las carnes / que por el mundo necio nos llevan'. In 'Nocturno'⁴⁶ the procession of carriages leaving the glittering ball becomes, all of a sudden, a *danse macabre* worthy of the visions of the fourteenth century and the sonnets and *sueños* of Quevedo.

Vi en cada uno
de los carruajes llenos por la vida
un montón de amarillos esqueletos,
demacrados, escuetos,
gusanos, fetidez, carne podrida,
polvo, tierra, basura,
ojos, labios y pechos carcomidos,
corazones roídos:
la horrible destrucción de la hermosura.

Yet it brings not Humanist *desengaño* but post-Romantic *angustia*. In 'El paseo de carruajes'⁴⁷ the 'paseo' becomes a symbol of man's vain desires after which

¡el mundo va ciego
de orgía en orgía,
mas ¡ay! que al tocarlas
caen desvanecidas!

Here the fulminations of Padre Nieremberg seem to overcome the restraint and profundity of à Kempis. It was the latter to whom Jiménez retreated. But he had no traditional faith to fall back on. So he pursues a spiritual goal in the full knowledge that time is the great eroding force, death the final arbiter. From the mingled religious and aesthetic idealism of the Germans he would have come to understand that 'reality' lay beneath the surface of multiplicity and change. A Kempis also pointed to the proper spiritual path that was to be found by struggle, self-discipline and withdrawal into a world of contemplation. Thus Juan Ramón is to seek the eternal within decay itself. Thus he is to seek in his own mind the solace of his own hypersensitive reactions to the world about him. Thus the 'spiritual' life of à Kempis and all the concomitant psycho-pathological, psychological or neurological processes involved in the path to illumination become for Juan Ramón an aesthetic spirituality: self-contemplation based on hypersensitivity rather than genuine religious experience. The first stage marks the emergence of an attitude not unlike the 'nouveau mysticisme' described by F. Paulhan⁴⁸ which has much to do with Decadent manifestations in art and the *neo-idealismo* Mara-

gall perceived in Ruskin and Carlyle. The ambivalence of the desire for spirituality and the lack of true faith which confronts the mind with the unavoidable recognition of the horror of death and time's decay is transmuted into a perverse *frisson* of cerebral pleasurable pain. The poet contemplates beauty sensually but intellectually recognises that it must decay. Gómez Carrillo, soon to be his friend, was probably one of the earliest of the *modernistas* to give expression to this peculiar spiritual condition. He, after all, was probably the most steeped in the writings of French Decadent writers, and only rivalled in the 1890s by Llanas Aguilaniedo.⁴⁹ As early as 1891 in an essay on Oscar Wilde he gave a short critical account of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, one of the earliest appraisals of that work to appear in Spain.⁵⁰ What particularly attracted his attention were Dorian's reflections as he contemplated in the portrait his apparently eternal beauty. 'En vez de inspirarle contento su juventud y su belleza', wrote Gómez Carrillo, 'le inspiraron amargura. El demonio de la filosofía rara se introduce en su alma y le hace razonar, le hace soñar, mejor dicho . . . "¡Oh la vida! ¡Oh, la mocedad! ¡Oh, la vejez!" Y sus palabras semejan entonces versículos pesimistas de la *Imitación*'.⁵¹

VI. TOWARDS A NEW SPIRITUALITY

By the time Jiménez returned from France the spirituality of the *modernistas* was less a simple process of Romantic rational analysis than a highly complex one of transmuting sensual and affective responses, the nervous activity of aesthetic or spiritual feeling, and the intellectual reactions to insoluble metaphysical problems, into thought. In essence, the culmination of a process of synthesis of scientific and Idealist currents acting and reacting upon one another. Emmy Nedderman's wonderment over the reasons why Jiménez rejected the Church in favour of the Muses⁵² may be more explicable in the light of an understanding of the idealistic intellectual climate of his age. Indeed, without the spiritual and religious experience of the Colegio and the contact with the new and less orthodox movements within Christianity, it seems unlikely that Jiménez would have been so quickly attracted to the Modernism of the Catholic Church and the works of the schismatic Abbé Loisy which he read in Dr. Simarro's house. Jiménez once asserted that

el movimiento modernista, empezó en Alemania a mediados del siglo XIX . . . Ese movimiento pasó a Francia, por los teólogos, y hay un famoso teólogo francés, el Padre Loisy, . . . que fué . . . excomulgado. (*Mod*, 222–23)

It is possible that, unconsciously, Jiménez's intellectual development followed that process of transition. If in the College and Seville he absorbed the spirit of the new 'religion' of the German Romantics, his subsequent admiration for Amiel, Ruskin, Carlyle, for the Abbé Loisy and, afterwards, for more universal spiritual witness, would indicate that Jiménez's insistence on linking literary *modernismo* with the schismatic religious movement should not be lightly discarded. It may be that the 'spiritual' aspects of Jiménez's aesthetics at this time have not been given due recognition.

VII. THE TRADITIONALIST REACTION

1. Seville

In the summer of 1896 Juan Ramón returned to Moguer. Within weeks he had taken up residence in Seville, ostensibly to read for a degree at the University, in reality indulging his artistic bent in reading, painting, and writing poetry.⁵³ He soon attracted the attention of the poetic establishment of Seville and one of the younger writers of the Cordoban school, Enrique Redel. While Redel clearly admired Jiménez's apprentice pieces⁵⁴, the mandarins in Seville were less enthusiastic. Jiménez recalled that José Lamarque de Novoa, poet and editor of *El Programa*, was anxious to publish the best — and most conventionally respectable — of Jiménez's work but was troubled by what he considered to be the pernicious influences of Darío and Rueda.⁵⁵ While the editor could praise the echoes of Núñez de Arce or Campoamor which colour many of the earliest of Jiménez's periodical contributions, for Lamarque de Novoa the word *modernismo* lacked artistic respectability.⁵⁶ To a literary school whose artistic tenets have been described as 'continuadora en pleno siglo XIX de los ideales literarios de la que en el siglo XVIII restauraron los Reinosos y los Listas . . .'⁵⁷, the new trends must have seemed damaging. Their value system and artistic credo had been handed down in an unbroken line from Hermosilla and Lista through Rodríguez Zapata to Lamarque de Novoa and the 'peña poética sevillana del instante parado' (*TG*, 220). The poets of the Sevillian school were marked, primarily, by their hostility to scepticism and their cultivation of *casticista* religious, moral and political subjects. Even as late as the 1890s, as Luis Vidart's prologue⁵⁸ to Eloy García Valero's *Poesías* indicates, 'el dolor humano' was to be viewed as a tribulation

sent from God rather than as a statement of Romantic loss of faith. If neo-classicism and its attendant ideology had survived anywhere in Spain it was in Seville for all the liberal intellectual leadership that had been given in the University by Machado y Núñez, Sales y Ferré and Federico de Castro. In literary circles the conscious continuation of the traditions associated with the earlier so-called 'escuela sevillana', under the accepted leadership of Lista and later José Lamarque de Novoa, had anachronistically preserved pre-Romantic attitudes to form a cohesive and defensive group. In Madrid too, traditional eighteenth-century precepts were still actively defended and innovation attacked vigorously. In the 'Elogio del poeta' Jiménez almost automatically cited the leader of this faction, feared by the young and the established alike: Antonio de Valbuena. He represented the traditionalist and Herosilisque allegiances most faithfully. As E. Gómez Carrillo was to inform an eager public in 1898 'una de las causas a que D. Antonio de Valbuena atribuye la inmoralidad de la literatura y de la política contemporánea es nuestra falta de fe religiosa'.⁵⁹ Those poets and critics who traced back their allegiances to the Enlightenment and the Fernandine era could only regard a movement whose ideal was, in the words of T. M. Cestero, 'las más sutiles sensaciones de la carne y los más suaves matices del ensueño'⁶⁰, and whose religious outlook was sceptical, as something subversive. There were also other reasons for disapproval. During the first year of Jiménez's *licenciatura* in the University of Seville he studied Metaphysics and Historia crítica de España under Federico de Castro. Juan Ramón recalled that their friendship was the subject of considerable criticism. 'De don Federico de Castro se decía en tono ofensivo: "es un krausista", y los compañeros de Universidad me preguntaban: "¿cómo tratas a ese krausista?" Les parecía que serlo era algo pecaminoso'.⁶¹ Castro had been a pupil of Sanz del Río in Madrid in the 1860s and belonged to the central group of *krausista* pedagogues. As such he was the bearer of the spirit if not the letter of Sanz del Río's adaptation of Krause's *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* (Madrid 1860).⁶²

In a lecture on 27 March 1953 Jiménez stated that '[e]l abuelo de Machado fue profesor de Juan Ramón Jiménez en Sevilla' (*Mod*, 159). Antonio Machado y Núñez had been one of the most outstanding of the liberal intellectuals in the University of Seville during the Republic. He soon became Rector of the University and Governor of the Province. A pharmacist, physician and natural scientist by training, he studied under Orfila in the Sorbonne and soon acquired

an international reputation, attracting foreign scholars to Seville. He was also famed for his liberal progressivism, his founding of the *Revista mensual de Filosofía, Literatura y Ciencias de Sevilla* with Federico de Castro and his translation of Haeckel's *Monism*. He was the centre of left-wing liberal activity in the city which already rivalled Madrid in its interest in modern philosophical and sociological ideas.⁶³ Such a man would have put Jiménez in touch with all that was progressive in Spanish thinking. Yet Jiménez's claim will not bear serious scrutiny. In 1883 Machado y Núñez left Seville to take up the post of Dean of Zoography in the University of Madrid. He died there in 1896. His son, Antonio Machado y Álvarez, like his father, a leading if less successful liberal intellectual, predeceased him by three years. Even if Jiménez had mistaken one for the other it is impossible that he was taught by a Machado. It may be that their reputations were so powerful that some fifty five years later he believed that he had studied with them. His acquaintance with Luis Montoto and Federico de Castro, who both knew the Machados intimately, may have provided that sense of presence. The point is that although Jiménez's claim is untrue in fact, in truth, through Castro he probably suffered the pervasive influence of Machado y Núñez. From these men and the liberal intellectual and literary circles of Timoteo Orbe, Jiménez came first into first hand contact with those heterodox currents discussed above which were to prove so influential in his apprenticeship.

In Seville at least, Krausism exerted a powerful influence amongst the young liberal intellectuals. Even as late as 1908 the Jesuit J. M. Aicardo was attacking not only the theological heresy of Modernism that had been condemned the year before in the Encyclical *Pascendi gregis* but also the ideological heresy that shared a near common ground: the German Idealism that had been absorbed by the liberals of the 1860s and which had been handed on in an adulterated form to Jiménez's generation. The intemperate tone of Aicardo's sermons is not so much alarmist as genuinely fearful of the influences of heterodox and Krausist ideas among the young.⁶⁴

2. Madrid

For more liberal-minded critics like González Serrano, Alas or Emilio Bobadilla, what C. A. Torres called the 'nueva mentalidad, un clima espiritual diferente'⁶⁵, was dangerous for other reasons. If Valera was

to condemn Darío's metaphysical unorthodoxy in the famous 'Carta' which introduced *Azul*. . . to Spain, Alas was just suspicious of 'neo-idealistic' currents in literature. In his prologue to E. Gómez Carrillo's *Almas y cerebros* (Madrid n. d. [c. 1895]), he expressed a fear of 'la disolución del espíritu nacional' (xi) through modern and progressive literature. This leads him to condemn the emergent writers and 'el afán, noble en sí, de lo moderno, que toma casi siempre el camino que va al peor abismo, al aniquilamiento de la savia española, de la enjundia castiza' (xi—xii). He called for a return to social concerns with little trust that such a call would be answered. González Serrano, on the other hand, still believed in the power of literature to bring about social amelioration. Hence he is quick to condemn the new trends and, supporting Núñez de Arce's claim in the preface to *Gritos del combate* (1875) of a quarter of a century before, he looked for a canalisation of the spiritual energies of the young into social reconstruction.⁶⁶ The consummation of traditionalism and neo-classicism with the belief in an art that would provide an instrument for educating the reading public is to be found in the work of Núñez de Arce's disciple Emilio Ferrari. It was he, of all the mandarins of the *fin de siècle*, who was most forthright in his condemnation of Jiménez and his *modernista* associates. While the pages of *Gedeón* and *Madrid Cómic* were to satirise unremittingly, and often wittily, the excesses of Modernism⁶⁷, Ferrari's anathemas were directed at more serious issues. In 1905 before the Real Academia Española, he addressed himself to the problem of 'La poesía española en la crisis literaria actual'.⁶⁸ Like many eminent traditionalists before him — Lista, Menéndez y Pelayo and Blanco García — he condemned the unorthodoxy of the youth of his age. At the heart of the matter he diagnosed

la incertidumbre [que] se ha hecho vértigo, la escisión dolorosa se ha tornado en disgregación atomística; las líneas paralelas del dilema se han dislocado en zis-zás innumerables entrecruzándose locamente hasta producir un laberinto sin salida (14).

Specifically blaming this 'anarquismo intelectual' on Tolstoi and Nietzsche, but also tracing back the 'filosofía del dolor absoluto e irremediable' to Rousseau, the 'análisis corrosivo' to the *Encyclopédie* and the Romantics, he focuses on what, for him and like-minded critics, is the central problem: 'una superstición metafísica . . . un fanatismo del misterio . . . un vacío gris . . . linaje de corrupción o refinamiento intelectual . . . *modernismo* . . . desesperación . . . la nada . . .

un desasosiego enfermizo' (15—16). In terms irresistibly reminiscent of the traditionalist attacks of the 1830s, Ferrari levels the same charge: that the new spirit is immoral, and subversive to the accepted structure of society. Placing the emphasis squarely on doubt and despair as the dominant theme of *modernista* poetry, he exposes the central feature of the movement with regard to Spain. This view would explain the violent hostility of Ferrari and subsequently Rueda, an erstwhile *modernista*, to 'el ingenio . . . *insociable y degenerado* . . . la torre de marfil . . . esta falsa aristocracia intelectual' and 'paganismo *bulevardiero*' (22, 24—25) which they perceived in modern literature. It would also explain alliances as strange as those of Rueda and Ferrari.⁶⁹

VIII. THE CENTRAL ISSUE

The essence of the argument here is that at the outset we must fix our attention firmly on the various contemporary reactions to Jiménez and *modernista* art. Second, we must also consider the thematic rather than the formal content of their art. Third, we must accept that the problem of the origins and definition of *modernismo* is closely connected with that renewed recognition, in the minds of an ever-growing and progressively more influential intellectual minority, of the collapse of previously established absolute values, whether they rested on religion or on rationalism.⁷⁰ Thus from the beginnings of the movement we find condemnation or an attempt to explain away heterodoxy by alleging that the *modernista* outlook is nothing more than a bohemian pose. Another method is to charge them with insincerity. Among the earliest manifestations is Alas' advice to Martínez Sierra 'que reniegue Vd. de los útiles modernistas y cambie de camino y sanará su enfermedad'.⁷¹ This type of comment was soon followed by more serious charges of moral or sexual turpitude (mainly homosexuality), of pathological disorder along lines laid down by Max Nordau, of cultural degeneration, of ideological heterodoxy and of artistic corruption.⁷² It was, then, amid the clamour of orthodox intellectual opinion in Seville and Madrid for some reassurance that the ideas and beliefs on which the stability and cohesion of society were thought to depend were still surely founded that Jiménez was first attracted to the new artistic trends. It is in this atmosphere of scepticism and doubt and amid a chorus of protest that Juan Ramón began to write. This explains both Jiménez's cultivation of the theme

of poetic martyrdom and the aristocratic concept of the artist. At times a note of vibrant tension in its expression indicates some strain on the part of the poet. That inner tension gives added meaning to what F. Garfias has vaguely termed 'el tufillo heterodoxo de algunos escritos'⁷³ of 1898—1900.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE CONQUERING WORM

I. '¿POR QUÉ ME HAS DE MATAR?'

Many critics have pointed to the melancholia and the lugubrious death preoccupation of the early poetry. Yet no critic has explained convincingly why this poetry should be 'caracterizado en sus comienzos por un énfasis romántico desgarrado y sollozante y por un irreprimible sentimiento de tristeza'.¹ Among various attempts one might mention those of biographers like Palau de Nemes, Garfias, Díez-Canedo and Díaz-Plaja who argue that Jiménez's early reading in the Romantics of Spain, England, Germany and France would explain what Garfias calls 'un trasnochado y amargo romanticismo andaluz'.² Yet to explain the deep-seated pessimism and the longing for escape from a world inimical to the sensitive spirit in terms of literary influence seems an oversimplification and a naïve trust in the shaping power of one group of literary writers. There were not a few contemporary commentators who were all too painfully aware of the consequences, not of a reading of the Romantics or of a sordid and unpoetic reality, but of a deeper and more fearsome vision: the Romantic legacy of spiritual disquiet.³

Jiménez, as an adolescent in the Jesuit College, was already sensitive to the spirit of his age. In one of his earliest compositions, 'Plegaria', written at the age of fourteen⁴, Juan Ramón addressed himself to one of the central enigmas that confronted the thinking and enquiring mind.

Tú, Señor, que de tierra me has creado,
¿porqué me has de volver a sucia tierra?
¿porqué me has de matar? . . .

...

Mi pensamiento busca al ignorado
palacio en donde la Verdad se encierra

...

y a conseguir esa Verdad se aferra
y gime y se revuelve encadenado . . .
Yo creo en Ti, mas, abre mis prisiones,
¿Han de servir mis blancas ilusiones
para comida del gusano inmundo?

(*Vida Nueva*, 67, 17-IX-1899)

The influence of Espronceda in particular, is obvious. 'There is in fact', Shaw has suggested, 'an unbroken line of development from Espronceda and Bermúdez de Castro to the end of the century' (*History*, 58). While timid and sporadic in the work of Campoamor, the re-emerging attitudes of *duda* and *tristeza* were to be central to the work of Núñez de Arce. The repeated '¿porqués?' of Jiménez's juvenilia clearly recall the anxious questions of Núñez de Arce's 'Problema' (*Gritos del combate* [1875]), questions taken up by the *modernistas* themselves. By 1875 Valera was to remark in a review of *Gritos del combate* that 'dicho género de poesía lírica desesperada es la más frecuente en nuestro siglo'.⁵ Yet for all the Romantic scepticism we find in the poetry of Núñez de Arce and his contemporaries, or in Jiménez's elderly associates in Seville, Montoto y Rautenstrauch and Lamarque de Novoa, there remains a feeling of attitudinising. *Tristeza* becomes an aesthetic device. Alongside their recognition of what Alcalá Galiano called 'este don espantoso de la vida' we have the acceptance of God's existence. Among the many commentators who approved or disapproved of the religious aspects of this current, Fray Candil is almost unique in his analysis of the ambiguity and the vacillation which lay beneath their posturing.⁶ 'Plegaria', written only months after Reina's *La canción de las estrellas* where the same ideological confusion is patent, belongs to that tradition. Saz-Orozco has correctly noted 'cierto pesimismo y dolor' in this poem.⁷ However, the comment that 'se trata de la lucha interna por conseguir la vida sin la muerte' (22) must be tempered with caution. The basic dynamic of the poem is not that of a struggle for immortality. The poem portrays the dichotomy of a fear that the spiritual aspect of man will be totally annihilated in death against the vital urge of the human mind which seeks beyond that vision of nothingness for an uncertain spiritual goal. There is that authentic legacy from Byron and the Romantics: the quest after more knowledge, the need to understand ultimate truth or eternal life, the Romantic precept of the thinking mind immured in the prison-house of life, the quest for a satisfying answer to the enigmas of life and the Luciferine pride of '¡No me importa luchar eternamente!'

II. 'EL DIOS ESE ... QUE LLENA DE ANGUSTIA Y DOLOR EL SUELO'

These themes reappeared more pessimistically in the 'Traducciones de Ibsen', especially in 'El minero' written in 1898:⁸

yo creía con mi cándida alma joven
que los Genios de la tierra explicaríanme
el enigma misterioso de la Vida.

...

¿Me he engañado? ...

... Necesito descender hasta lo profundo;
hasta el trono donde reina paz eterna ...

...

Y golpea mi martillo y estará golpeando siempre
hasta el fin de mi viaje por la vida,
¡sin que nunca sea alumbrado por el sol de la Esperanza!

In this poem the prison-house of the sceptical Romantics has become the 'tenebroso laberinto' of the mine. By September 1899 the critics had recognised the sources of these poems. The reader would find, noted Ramos García, co-editor of *El Programa*,

ese delicado romanticismo propio de la juventud, ora con lamentaciones de arrebate, parecidas a las de Lorbeiron (sic), ya dulces y melancólicas como las de Gustavo Bécquer, ya con tendencias, un poquito amaneradas, a los excecpticismos (sic) de Espronceda, sin que se pudiera precisar marcada y definitiva tendencia.⁹

'Vanidad', dedicated to his editor, while tricked out with all the sententious worldly wisdom and moralising of a Campoamor, has a more serious note. Although one of the disputants is superior, the inferior reminds his more powerful antagonist that

convertido después en sucia tierra
iremos a la nada.

In 'Nocturno', again with reminiscences of the moralising tone of Campoamor's *doloras*, Jiménez develops a theme which, more or less consistently, he is to use elsewhere: that of the vanity of illusion, the fleeting nature of human happiness and the folly of the pursuit of sensual pleasure.¹⁰ In the expression of this theme he directly echoes his Romantic forebears in Spain, Espronceda and Larra, and the tone of the Romantic writers from France, Germany and England whom he had been reading: Musset, Vigny, Lamartine, Heine, Shelley and the evil genius himself, Byron. In 'Sarcasmo' the blind man whose sight is momentarily restored to glimpse his 'amada de oro y fuego' and to be as suddenly blinded again by the brilliant sunlight has all the Romantic overtones of cosmic injustice. The poem has, of course, all the associations that had accrued to the word *sarcasmo* by the 1890s memorably expressed in Alas' commentary on the human condition:

Esta juventud que hoy crece en España, ávida de ejercicio intelectual ... busca, sin más anhelo que discernimiento, las nuevas teorías ... El positivismo [que] convien[e] en rechazar la posibilidad de toda ciencia de lo absoluto y comunicación con lo metafísico, va ganando terreno entre nosotros ... la humanidad habita lo infinito ... También esta creencia se aterra ... Entonces el corazón, al sentir que le cortan las alas, al oír en nombre de la ciencia la terrible predicción 'no volarás', *mira con tristeza a los cielos; y en las estrellas, esas promesas de eternidad, no ve mas que sarcasmo* ...¹¹

If the overtones of Alas' commentary are reminiscent of the Materialist doctrines of the age not the less so is Jiménez's 'Triste ley'. In an incident that recalls those mountaintop visions of the Generation of 1898 the poet surveys the grandeur of the landscape set out below.

Ante tanta grandeza embebecido,
me postro, alzando humilde la mirada ...
¡Que de la nada todo haya salido!
Mas fatal pensamiento me anonada,
y entre lágrimas dígame abatido:
¡Que al fin vuelve a parar todo en la nada!¹²

It is possible to explain the sense of monotony and implicit futility in 'Campanas'¹³, the awareness of temporal flow that brings no progression, in terms of Bécquer's well-known *rima* 'Hoy como ayer, mañana como hoy, / ¡y siempre igual!'. Elsewhere the sound of bells brings not thoughts of love but thoughts of death. In *cantar* XIII the very affirmation of love is mocked by the awareness that death derides man's attempts to invest life with significance or permanency (*PLP*, 1536). In 'Otoñal', similarly, the beloved's 'Me abrazo contigo con vínculo eterno' (*PLP*, 1500) is given the lie by the memory that at the very moment of the recognition of true love 'llegaron ... / infausto, terrible recuerdo; / llegaron muy tristes, de lejos ..., de lejos ..., / las voces de lentas campanas' bringing not the sound of a wedding celebration but doleful tones 'llorando con pena canciones de muertos ...'. To associate this type of expression simply with Romantic attitudinising, as critics have tended to do, is to ignore its close relationship with the extensive spiritual malaise of the age.¹⁴

III. 'ESCAPE DE ENERGÍAS'

Jiménez, in company with many of the young men who came to intellectual maturity in the 1890s, shared that common outlook on life which Maragall was to condemn in 1899 as 'el fúnebre prurito

de ensalzar todo lo débil, lo enfermo, lo apagado, lo vencido de la vida, . . . la constante apoteosis de la muerte sin *ultra tumba* que nos enerva, nos asfixia y nos mata el goce de vivir . . . el hechizo, la tétrica sugestión del siglo'. In 1903 González Serrano reproached the general 'zozobra e inquietud'.¹⁵ This outlook, dominated by a collective recognition that the mind was unable to make sense of human existence, was paralleled by an increasingly desperate search for *ideas madres*, for a satisfying pattern of ideas, ideals and beliefs which might solve the problems which confronted them. Thus González Serrano was to note that the *modernistas* 'oscilan entre su escepticismo y un misticismo cerebral, escape de energías' (28). Luis Berisso in January 1900 was similarly to claim that 'la enervante ráfaga pesimista, que sopla sobre las cabezas en este fin de siglo . . . aleja a los intelectuales de su medio'.¹⁶ As a result, he observed, they sought exotic and escapist worlds.

The theme of *tristeza* in Jiménez's early poetry is no mere aesthetic motif as it had been for the generation of Núñez de Arce. It must be related to what Antonio Vilanova has termed 'esta actitud desesperada y angustiosa del poeta . . . esta actitud de nihilismo metafísico' (*op. cit.*, 39). Indeed, Vilanova is virtually alone in seeing the connection between Jiménez's spiritual desolation and nineteenth century scepticism. His postulation of three major features in the poetry of the 'primera época' is important in this context. The first is that some form of transcendental process of art supplies a refuge and consolation. The second is that transcendence is brought about by a form of narcissistic examination of the workings of the poetic spirit. The third is the interrelation between the fear of death and that spiritual quest. As the latter becomes more pronounced so the former recedes. However, there always remains a tension, for the particular consoling illusion chosen is always at risk either when inspiration dries up (the onset of artistic impotence), or when the demon of thought, bringing intimations of mortality, destroys the illusion. This phenomenon, not uncommon in the *fin de siècle*, deserves further examination.

In 1898 in a review of *La caja de música* L. R. de V. recognised that Ricardo Gil was writing in 'esos tiempos de pesimismo e indiferencia resignada' but was forced to condemn an 'exceso de actividad cerebral' and a wilful separation from 'la hermosura de la vida'. Gil pursued 'sus ideales en algo fuera de nosotros, algo remoto y abstruso'.¹⁷ This objection is no more than an echo of the many objections to sceptical thought which had begun in the heart of the Romantic movement in Spain. The novelty lies less in the reference to *criticismo* than in the

comment on excessive cerebralism. The most illuminating account of this new heterodoxy is to be found in the essays of one of Jiménez's associates in the *Helios* group. In 1881, the year Jiménez was born, González Serrano had noted in *Ensayos de crítica y de filosofía* (Madrid 1881)

corrientes misteriosas e influencias poderosísimas, de virtualidad innegable, del arte a la religión y viceversa, . . . entendiendo que un *ideal estético* puede guiar a un ideal religioso. . . . Así, al lado de la paradoja, del dolor y de la desesperación, hállase . . . un rasgo de energía y virtualidad potentísima, una alta aspiración a algo, que por lo que tiene de vago e indeterminado encanta y seduce y constituye como el bálsamo de consuelo, que restaña heridas aún abiertas (93—94).

Two years later in *Cuestiones contemporáneas* in the face of a growing scepticism he found 'una fe invertida' (7). By the early 1890s in a detailed analysis of 'El dolor' he could see how false the new 'religious' trends had become.

Avanza la juventud e idealiza al amor hasta llegar al límite de lo místico . . . el movimiento lógico y expansivo del amor en la *Imitación de Cristo* . . . [se convierte en] amores . . . sedientos del ideal. Lo mismo se observa en los poetas. . . . La glorificación razonada del sufrimiento es la más sublime apoteosis del amor. Sentir su propia miseria es elevarse por encima de ella; la turbación y el deseo simbolizan la luz y las penumbras de la vida y del amor y la intensidad del amor se mide por la del dolor que produce: "amar es sufrir, sufrir es amar".

(*En pro y en contra* (Críticas), (Madrid n. d. [c. 1893]), 224—25)

The tragic consummation came in 1903 when González Serrano sadly recorded in *La literatura del día* that *modernismo* '[h]uye con honda melancolía de la fe perdida, y emprende la marcha hacia *terra incognita* con la esperanza moral del nuevo Mesianismo, . . . con sed insaciable del ideal y llega a ser místico secularizado y heterodoxo o *ateo por bondad*, como decía el inolvidable Campoamor' (33—34). Here is the nerve centre of much of Spanish *premodernista* and *modernista* art in general and of Juan Ramón's early work in particular. First, the theme of art as a consolation. Second, the spiritual longing in art is confused, not only with religious sentiments, but with aesthetic and erotic feelings. Third, that while the pursuit of the ideal brings consolation, it also brings suffering, artistic activity becomes spiritual or emotional masochism. Fourth, that suffering is turned back on itself to see in it a positive instead of a negative spiritual state. Last, that at the heart of the matter lies a counsel of despair, Espronceda's 'la verdad amarga' now more formidably

intellectualised. Villaespesa aptly summed up these heterodox strains in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta* with reference to Juan Ramón.

El arte es liberal, generoso, y cosmopolita . . . Es inmoral por naturaleza, místico por atavismo, y pagano por temperamento. Su poesía respira Dolor . . .
(PLP, 1517)

Villaespesa's discrimination of *dolor* here denotes the disappearance of the rending cries of Romantic Revolt and cosmic protest and the emergence of 'el Dolor resignado de la Desesperanza'. *Dolor*, metaphysical anguish, is now accommodated into the new absolute of Art and Beauty to become a part of a new 'exceso de actividad cerebral', a new 'religion': 'misticismo cerebral'.

IV. 'HERMOSO COMO LA MUERTE'

1. '*La muerta adorada*'

Jiménez's heterodox spiritual response indicates a falling away from formal Catholicism. Yet his anguish is not a total product of the spirit of the age or of the failure of the Church to offer sufficient comfort. There remains a decisive personal factor which for their heirs, as for the Romantics themselves, was to prove a major stumbling block: mortality.

Virtually all of Jiménez's biographers have pointed to the poet's fear of death, especially after the sudden and unexpected loss of his father in July 1900. If Jiménez were as Christian in his outlook as Saz-Orozco has argued, the problem of death should not have proven so intractable. From the poet's own recollections a decade later we learn that in 1898 he was forced to return from Seville after several nervous attacks. Juan Ramón's comments concerning his general optimism are belied by the poetry which he was writing at this time, by his major biographer, and by his statement to Gullón *à propos* of an incident which obliged him to abandon his University studies. Jiménez often referred to his nervous breakdown and the first of the heart attacks which left his father partially paralysed. He failed to mention specifically one other significant event which inspired one of the major themes of the juvenilia: the death of a young woman for whom he felt deeply. He fell in love at an early age with Blanca Hernández-Pinzón, a childhood sweetheart whom he was never to marry but always remember. He also developed an attachment for Rosalina Brau

whom he met while studying in Seville after leaving the *colegio*. In two poetic essays Juan Ramón recalled his precocious and tempestuous affair with Rosalina in the summer of 1896. On his own admission 'Yo fui muy precoz'.¹⁸ In another essay he remembered his amorous encounters and correspondence with Rosalina.¹⁹ Fifty seven years later in Puerto Rico Jiménez still vividly remembered those heady days in that hot Sevillian summer:

Yo pintando, escribiendo y diciendo a mi familia que estudiaba en la Universidad, y Rosalina siempre en un balcón . . . ('Isla de la simpatía', *op. cit.*, 5)

The sudden separation of the lovers was a painful experience as Juan Ramón recalled in 'Rosalina'. Its effect on a hypersensitive temperament that fed on romantic dreams, on the atmosphere of the moonlit Guadalquivir, Santa Clara and hooting owls and their literary equivalents in the *Rimas*, was certainly propitious for the production of lyrics in the Romantic vein. Jiménez suffered from nervous attacks as 'Penumbra' (*LPr*, 1237) records. He also experienced extremes of exalted sensibility and sensuality — Jiménez had a highly refined sensual streak²⁰ — which he recalled in many autobiographical essays. Thus the smallest upset would have served to unhinge him. Soon afterwards the 'incident' he mentioned to Gullón in the 1950s seems to have occurred: the death of the young woman with whom he was in love. In late 1897, in a state of nervous collapse, he left Seville and the University and returned to Moguer. The *amada* may have been one of the many *novias* Juan Ramón had at this time. Jiménez retains her anonymity in the dedication in a poem in *Diario de un poeta recién casado* and two other sources fail to mention her name.²¹ It is possible that she is the *niña muerta* described in four short prose-poems written soon after 1910 (*LPr*, 1187—90). The shock may well explain the sudden collapse of an already hypersensitive temperament. These events forced the poet to face squarely the problems of 'Triste ley' and like poems. Such an event would also explain the insistent theme of the 'muerta amada' at this time. Many of the poems were probably written in the months after her death. The question is how the thinking mind is to square an arbitrary and inexplicably undeserved fate (posed by the death of innocents) and human suffering with a belief in a provident and ultimately harmonious explanation of existence. In 'La niña muerta' Jiménez clearly states the problem.

Señor, dos cosas me hicieron dudar siempre de Ti; una cosa negra y una cosa blanca: que nacieran seres monstruosos y que se mueran los niños.

¡Qué se mueran los niños! El hombre puede suportar con un pensamiento, dolor y pesar, pero el niño enfermo es solo dolor, todo dolor, una llaga blanca sin orillas. (*LPr*, 1189)

Garfias' comment that the death theme is purely ornamental (*PLP*, 24—25) overlooks the evident philosophical dimension of Jiménez's comments. The question is why does Jiménez concern himself with the lyrical evocation of death? And having chosen this theme why does he direct attention to aesthetic aspects rather than confront the problem intellectually? Much of Jiménez's life was spent trying to find a way round rational and emotional obstacles back to some form of faith. Above all he sought a faith in a meaningful universe ordered along harmonious and providential lines and a belief in a personal God. There were several intermediate positions which the poet occupied between the terror when confronted with the moment of death, the painful separation of the spirit and the flesh from a union that was mutually interdependent, (as in 'Tétrica' (*PLP*, 1474) and 'Hiel' (*PLP*, 1494)) and the reacquisition of religious confidence. Among the most important was a process used by so many of his contemporaries whereby despair was turned back on itself. Despair was seen as a positive rather than a negative quality. Another was to avoid the problem by concentrating attention elsewhere. In many of the early poems the sting of death is drawn because the poet concentrates not on death itself. Instead he renders into art his emotions in the absence of the departed, the evocation of the beauty of the beloved in death or death's outward show.²²

In one of Jiménez's earliest collected prose poems 'Riente cementerio'²³ we find the poet turning the traditionally sombre atmosphere of the cemetery, so attractive to Romantic writers, into a sensuous apprehension of joy, of smell and colour. It seems clear that Juan Ramón subsequently recognised the truly Romantic origin of this attitude to death and the particular vital lie which evolved. In about 1910 Juan Ramón wrote an essay entitled 'Romanticismo' in which he explained that his early 'primer romanticismo . . . nació en el cementerio de mi pueblo'.²⁴ He recalled that he used to retire to the cemetery and there, despite the smiles of his friends, 'a la puesta del sol, yo declamaría, exaltado, pálido, contra el poniente, con un hueso en la mano' (*LPr*, 1210). Artificiality and play-acting are also used as devices of protection against insight. We shall return to this aspect.

2. 'El cementerio de Adina'

We know that Jiménez was an avid reader at this time.

Leía, leía atropellada, revueltamente, cuanto caía en mi mano: versos, novelas, etc. En esa época la novela naturalista imperaba, lo social, el simbolismo, el modernismo inicial, *que venía del romanticismo*. (LPr, 1218)

Lamartine, Musset and Bécquer were among the favoured authors along with Espronceda and Byron. Rosalía de Castro was another. The title and treatment of 'Riente cementerio' may well have been suggested by Emilio Castelar's prologue to Rosalía de Castro's *Follas novas* (1880), which, on Jiménez's admission, had a profound effect upon him. In this prologue Castelar noted that

No conozco en las diversas lenguas literarias de la Península composición alguna más tierna y más sentida que la titulada '¡Padrón!, ¡Padrón!' ... Delante de un cementerio, lo primero que se le ocurre es la idea de todo cuando acaba en nosotros al pasar de la juventud a la madurez en la existencia ... Sigue a este triste reflexión sobre todo lo que llevamos muerto en nosotros mismos una pintura del cementerio de Adina, ... Naturalmente, la emoción que el cementerio despierta en el alma de una niña es emoción de alegría. Y en esta alegría se encuentra lo filosófico y lo profundo del pensamiento, alcanzado por la intuición soberana del poeta. ... La niña ve en el cementerio de Adina la hierba sobre las sepulturas, las flores sobre las hierbas, las mariposas sobre las flores, los pájaros sobre las mariposas, el cielo sobre los pájaros, la vida que rebosa en el templo de la muerte. ... Consolémonos. Nada en la realidad tan repugnante, ni nada en el ideal tan hermoso como la muerte.²⁵

In this extract, which Jiménez clearly glosses, we find the model of the means whereby the problem of death is deprived of its horror and how it is transmuted into a picture of beauty and charm. Most ironical is the attempt to invest death with qualities normally pertaining to youth and springtime, a motif used in 'Riente cementerio'. Art has enabled the poet and the critic to reverse the accepted pattern. Life, or rather death, has been depicted *à rebours*. As such, both writers take their place in a process that had begun earlier in the century. Yet the 'lie' of art is not absolute for Juan Ramón's poem closes on the collapse of the illusion. Rosalía's 'Era apacible el día' (*En las orillas del Sar*) had ended on the same note. The thought that the child died happy provokes thoughts of universal love and harmony. The entry of 'el cadáver de una virgen serena cuya carita de nieve y violetas ostenta la huella del sufrimiento, del pesar' suddenly reverses the process and the precarious illusion collapses.²⁶ It would

not be fanciful to suggest that it was Rosalía's treatment of death, a central theme in her work, that formed one of the most attractive features of her poetry. The theme of the death of a loved one and the plaintive sadness at the personal loss is to be found in both poets. It first appeared as early as 1863 in *A mi madre*. But it is in *Follas novas* that this theme achieves its most moving expression, especially in poems like '¡Padrón! ¡Padrón!' (¡Do íntimo!), 'De Galicia os cimiteros' and 'San Lourenzo' (Da terra). In these lyrics, as in those of Jiménez, we find the combination of the desire to transmute reminders of death into calm, silence and beauty with the poignant awareness that such a mood is ephemeral and impermanent. Although Rosalía's treatment of this aspect was almost certainly the most influential, similar minor key renditions by Curros Enríquez, Icaza and Ricardo Gil may also have attracted Jiménez's attention and helped in the gradual maturing process of his poetic expression.²⁷

3. '*Une délection morose*'

At other times we find a note of strain in the assertion that death can bring no separation, that true love can transcend the grave. The poet finds a strange form of consolation in the contemplation of his reaction to the fact of death. The pain of loss and separation is to be cultivated as a morbid preoccupation. Comfort will be found in that despair. Thus suffering becomes a positively charged emotional state. In 'Marchita' (*PLP*, 1498) despair is transmuted into a fragile beauty where aesthetic pleasure and the awareness of death are perversely intermingled. Often the preoccupation with death is so strong that a distant village silhouetted in the starlight appears as a 'noble cementerio' (*PLP*, 1498). Death is present but it is held at a distance by its subordination to the emphasis on beauty, silence and spiritual tranquillity. Death seems more attractive in terms of an eternal rest under starlit skies. In 'Otoñal' (*PLP*, 1499) even thoughts of love cannot still a more dominant concern. As the poet embraces his beloved on a chill autumn afternoon that acts as a pathetic fallacy to the mood of the poem, the scene is suddenly redolent of death and echoes with Poe's bells under the 'ashen and sober' skies of 'Ulalume'. Jiménez's fear leads him finally to shock himself with the spectre of death in all its horror, with no recourse to comforting metaphysical solutions.

Está sola en el sepulcro . . . ;
 ¡Sola mi muerta adorada!
 y la noche está muy fría
 y el viento medroso brama
 y el mochuelo taciturno
 silba su canción extraña . . .
 De su atahúd carcomido (sic)
 por las entreabiertas tablas,
 se arrastrarán los lagartos
 hasta su carita blanca;
 los gusanos asquerosos
 le pudrirán las entrañas . . .²⁸

In 'Copos de nieve' (*Noche y Día*, V, 29-I-1901) the same tendency is more marked. In this poem the Bécquerian confrontation with the chill of death is transposed into a quasi-mystic union with supernatural forces of love and beauty. The poem is coloured with one of the least pleasing aspects of the *modernista* 'arsenal expresivo' — the *Walpurgisnacht* theme — probably inherited from Villaespesa. The evocation of 'parques celestes', of swans, marguerites, 'ramos nupciales' and 'manos muy blancas' and the deliberate mingling of images of erotic consummation, religion and aestheticism into a visionary experience, seems more akin to the fairytale worlds of the Art Nouveau artists and the Decadent-Symbolist painters²⁹ than the nineteenth century sentimental Christian cosmogonies of Rosales, González Bilbao or the early Sorolla. Jiménez is drawing on an already established tradition, for in Villaespesa's 'Los crepúsculos de sangre', dedicated to Juan Ramón himself, we find extraordinary coincidences of theme and expression. The deliberate contemplation of death provokes an ambiguous mood, a *frisson* of fear and fascination coupled with what the French Decadence was to call a *délectation morose*.³⁰ Death is not only transmuted into a strange emotional and intellectual state where both feeling and thought are fused into a form of spiritual masochism. At times death seems to offer some form of union with a spiritual world beyond the grave. The 'niña inocente' of 'Nívea' (*PLP*, 1527), like the dead child in 'Riente cementerio' and its verse version 'Cementerio' (*PLP*, 1478), smiles as if anticipating the 'roce del primer beso' or the caress of the harmonious sigh of the breeze that wafts through the lilies. Both seem to suggest that death belongs to a world of correspondent spiritual forces which, quickening a new life of spiritual peace through their embrace, will bring about some regeneration. Death, therefore, is no longer to be feared. Resurrection is looked to beyond the grave. There is, however, no recourse to theo-

logical solutions or the promise of the Christian Resurrection. The heterodoxy of this is clear. Juan Ramón, like his other *modernista* friends, especially Darío, trusts not in the Cross and the Christian Easter message. Rather they give credence to a precarious belief in some form of tainted mysticism where religion, spiritual and physical love, and the worship of beauty all fuse together to provide a satisfying explanation.

4. '*Más fuertes también para la muerte*'

Jiménez is very much in tune with the thought processes of his contemporaries. In the poetry and writings of Joan Maragall, a sensitive chronicler of the new trends, we find a similar approach to the problem of death. Jiménez had begun to read Maragall in 1897.³¹ The most sensitive artistic rendering of the new spiritual climate is to be found in 'Lo jardí de la mort' (1889). But in the essay 'De la muerte' of 13 February 1902 the whole issue is considered critically with regard to the Christian eschatological thesis expounded by José Ildefonso Gatell in *Un libro para mis enfermos*. Maragall, now out of sympathy with the French Decadence, welcomes the exemplary acceptance of the natural laws of death as postulated by Gatell. His concern is with those who are less robust in temperament than himself, those who are not 'lo más fuerte para la vida, más fuertes también para la muerte'. For these life and death cannot be a sublime union of body and soul, a part of God's universal scheme of things. For this type of man, '[e]l hombre separado violentamente de Dios trae como resultado esa otra separación violenta — la muerte — el alma separándose del cuerpo'. This is the crux of Maragall's concern. How is man, he implies, to face with equanimity a death without a faith in God?

Este miedo envenena tantas vidas, que apenas vemos sonrisas que no nos aparezcan meramente superficiales, encubriendo mal inquietudes terribles.

(O. C., 1375a)

Hence his final earnest questions:

¿Quién nos enseñará a sonreír profundamente? ¿Quién nos ha de enseñar la profunda alegría de la muerte?

If Jiménez's 'Tétrica' (*PLP*, 1474) concerns itself with the pain of the separation of body and soul, his subsequent poetry marks the desperate search for an emotional and intellectually satisfying answer to Maragall's final interrogatives.

CHAPTER THREE:

AGAINST THE GRAIN

In *The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Appraisal* (New York 1967) Ana Balakian argued that for the writers of the Symbolist-Decadence '[a] direct result of the hypersensitive awareness of death is a tendency to withdraw from the life force as a humble manifestation of free will. From this angle it is interesting to note what happens to the love theme in the curious treatment that Symbolists give to love' (118—20). The Symbolists reject voluptuous love and, gradually, the elusive love of dream to confront the enigma of death and nothingness itself through pure Art. It is Art alone, in the last resort, which supplies meaning. Thus the poet initially finds faith in the creative act and the role of poet to follow a perverse *camino de perfección* through a variety of experiences, mainly of an introspective nature, to lead to an accommodation with insight. It was Edmund Wilson, of course, who was to draw the general outlines of this trend when, in *Axel's Castle*, he identified the Symbolist image, and that of its heirs, with the recluse hero of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's poetic drama *Axël*. In this study, Wilson defines the Symbolist mode of writing in terms of a withdrawal into private worlds of thought and cryptic states of communication. The following paragraphs will attempt to unravel the tangled skeins of the themes of love, death and private worlds of thought in *fin de siècle* Spain and their influence on the poetry of Juan Ramón Jiménez. An understanding of the latter cannot be realised without reference to the former as this chapter will demonstrate.

I. THE QUEST FOR HARMONY

If Luis Berisso, like Ruiz de Velasco, directly associated scepticism and escapism, by 1902 E. Gómez de Baquero was to catalogue this aspect as one of *modernismo's* readily identifiable features.¹ The introductory poems of *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta* would serve to confirm these assessments. For all the outward echoes of Edgar

Allan Poe's 'Ulalume' and 'Dream Land' or Darío and Reina's exotic worlds, in the final analysis the transcendent urge derives principally from Bécquer whom Jiménez avidly read in Ateneo de Sevilla from early 1897 onwards. In the early part of the *Rimas* (i—xi) Bécquer is concerned mainly with the nature and the genesis of poetry and the role of the poet as maker. This is unquestionably the most original section of the *Rimas*. Yet Bécquer's ideas concerning the poet-seer are related to concepts that belong less to previous Spanish traditions than the doctrines of the French Romantics, especially Hugo and the *Sehnsucht* poets in Germany. In order better to express the striving for transcendence and union Bécquer, like the German poets, Poe and the Symbolists who follow them, has recourse to the motifs of love and woman. By using the theme of love as the Platonic indefinable essence of all things, the kiss in *rima ix* becomes the symbol of the contact with and union between the artist and the universal cosmic harmony. Thus woman, who is at once the source and object of love, who possesses special qualities of feeling and intuitive response to beauty, becomes 'el verbo poético hecho carne'. The fleeting woman figure who floats through the *rimas*, becomes the ethereal symbol of unfulfilled desires and aspirations. Her attraction represents the hidden force behind the poetic act, essential yet indefinable, to which the artist can respond, but which by its very spiritual nature he cannot fully embrace or render into art. Hence the alternation between the joy of longed-for possession and the despair at the limitations that prevent it.

In early *modernista* poetics we find similar themes but a number of salient differences. The clearest link between Bécquer and *modernismo* was the direct one of unashamed admiration for the poetry of 'el divino Gustavo Adolfo'. Any number of the verses of Juan Ramón and his associates bear the impact of the *sevillano* as Jiménez's own *Rimas* were to testify. Yet by the 1890s his theories had already suffered a change. Other more powerful forces and less obvious points of contact had also begun to play their part. Indeed, a study of the developments in Spain in the Restoration period is long overdue. For too long critics have relied on the *cliché* of the hegemony over the literary scene of establishment writers like Campoamor, Núñez de Arce, Manuel del Palacio and Alas' famous jibe about them. The importance of the so-called *premodernistas* — Reina, Gil, Paso and Latin American writers like Silva, Icaza and Nervo — should not be overlooked in any full assessment of the changing fashions. With regard to these writers F. Aguilar Piñal has argued that they prepared

tastes for the poetry which was to emerge in 1900. Among these poets he singles out Manuel Reina. He points to the considerable 'contribución de Reina a la creación del "ambiente poético" en que se ha de incubar el modernismo. . . . Reina indiscutiblemente representa un eslabón importante de la cadena lírica española, sin el cual quedará ésta incompleta e inexplicada'.² In the mid-1870s not only Bécquer but also Reina most clearly portended another distinct but related aspect of that trend described by Giner de los Ríos in 'Del género de poesía más propio de nuestro siglo' in 1865 in which the poet, 'suspense el ánimo en medio del fragoroso conflicto de ideas . . . vuelve sobre sí propio e imagina que hallará . . . la paz y la armonía . . . un tesoro inagotable de armonías'. Indeed, it is the word 'armonía' that most typifies the artistic ideal for which Reina was striving. But the inner quest was to have the most unexpected results in orthodox and traditional Spain. On the one hand we find an inner quest leading to extreme introspection and self-analysis, on the other an extrovert flight of fancy that apparently takes the poet outside of himself yet, in reality, into a private and hermetic inner world. In both we find that hybrid 'religion' of the nineteenth century where *feeling* and *sentiment* come into play to allow the aesthetic, the erotic and the spiritual to fuse into that strange heterodoxy which was to scandalise orthodox churchmen and thinkers alike. At the same time such combinations mark that essential stage in the pre-history of *modernismo* in the Restoration period. In general terms Bécquer's mixture of introspective spirituality and a restrained eroticism of an ethereal kind, slowly diverge to develop along separate paths into *modernismo* itself. There on one side we find narcissistic introspection, (the chief characteristic of the *Helios* group and of *Arias tristes* in particular), on the other side a pronounced Decadent tone. In his first collections we find Jiménez attracted to both aspects, although, of course, they are ultimately related. Bécquer's post-Romantic 'decadence' as represented in the *Leyendas* should not be neglected in any full assessment of the developments of the *fin de siècle* where the impact of *Rimas* has tended to hold exclusive claim to attention. For the same reasons Aguilar Piñal's view in *La obra poética de Manuel Reina* (Madrid 1968) [OPMR] that 'espiritualmente Reina es un eslabón más . . . en la cadena lírica que va de Bécquer al Modernismo' (65) is essentially correct.

II. THE GREECE OF FRANCE

Campoamor furnished another necessary link between the 1860s and the 1890s. While Cansinos Assens might argue in *Poetas y prosistas del novecientos* (Madrid 1919) for the importance of Darío (12), other native influences were at work. In Campoamor's *El Ideísmo* (Madrid 1883) we find a shrewd forecast of the trends to come and an assessment of 'nuestros dolores artísticas y nuestras desesperaciones de relumbrón' (123). He perceived the re-emergence of Epicurian and Anacreontic themes with new spiritual emphases. He warned, however, that 'por más que quieren idealizarse jamás logran emanciparse de su inseparable compañera la materia bruta' (123). In the *Poética* of the same year Campoamor addressed himself to the problem of 'el paganismo en el arte'. His argument was that great artists were always decorous rather than prudish and that to ask artists to renounce sceptical statements or erotic themes would be to deprive art of a major source of inspiration (*P*, 79).³ In effect, '[s]uprimid el paganismo artístico, y despoetizarás el mundo' (*P*, 83). In this diagnosis of 1883 (which almost certainly makes reference to the work of Rueda and Reina) we have one of the earliest examples of the growing realisation that the histrionic gestures of the Romantics had fallen from literary favour. Nor was the cultivation of the erotic simply the pruriency of Restoration Spain. Yet Campoamor was caught in the web of his own argument. His disapproval of the association of *angustia* and *sensualidad voluptuosa* preceded by five years Valera's observation of the same feature in Darío's *Azul*... Darío subsequently agreed, although he had linked passion, imagination and death. The Anacreontic poem and the revived myth became for Darío, Reina and others who employed these themes and motifs a *paradis artificiel*. They show a clear relationship between insight and beguilement, be it through wine, drugs, music, Art or mystic sexuality. Before Darío's arrival on the literary scene Reina had already incurred the censure of the establishment over this issue.

By far the majority of critics argue that the pagan Classical element, which appears in the so-called *colorista* poetry of writers like Reina, Rueda, and a host of minor imitators, is related to French Parnasianism and Gautier. With regard to this Juan Ramón's assessment of Rueda is revealing. In 'El "colorista" nacional' written in 1933 on the death of his former friend, Juan Ramón related Rueda with the *colorista* painters González Bilbao and Salvador Clemente. He also argued that Rueda's naïve peasant genius was captivated by the

tertulia of Valera and the Casón and was destroyed by it. Rueda was probably influenced by the Greece that Valera dreamed and became in part the darling exponent of Valera's Platonism while still retaining his strong Neo-Classical ideals and outlook. Jiménez hints as much in his comment on a Rueda '[s]umido en la absurda decoración de una Grecia de yeso en montón fúnebre' (CI, 58). While in the same essay, and in the 'Elejía accidental por Don Manuel Reina' (1905) Jiménez might dismiss Manuel Reina as another *colorista* 'que caía en el segundo parnaso francés' it is clear that he owed more to the Cordoban than he consciously remembered or, as the undisputed master of the new and 'pure' poetic style of the 1920s, he could conscionably admit. Mario Praz is only one of many critics who have pointed to the fact that Gautier was more influential as an aesthetic exoticist than as a Parnassian in the nineteenth century (*op. cit.*, 228—29, 426). A comparison of a number of motifs used by Reina and Jiménez may well reveal that it was to the more torrid side of Gautier's work that they were attracted rather than the chill plastic outlines or the vibrant colours of the *Émaux et Camées*. For all of Reina's delight in bright hues and striking effects, for all of Jiménez's own painterly passages learnt in the studio of Salvador Clemente and of the 'pintores coloristas y fandangueros', the scenes depicted do not belong to the muscular Greece invented by the Parnassians. Rather they belong to the Greece preferred by Darío in 'Divagación' (*Prosas profanas*). The Greece of Juan Ramón, Darío or Reina belongs, as this poem shows, to 'la Grecia de la Francia', to the *Fêtes Galantes* of Verlaine, Albert Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante*, *Aux Flancs du vase*, *Polyphème* and the ambiguous Ancient World of the French Decadence. No critic seems to have related this aspect to French Decadent manifestations despite the widespread use of the term *decadente* in *fin de siècle* Spanish criticism and its near indiscriminate application to Modernist writers. Yet one major aspect of Spanish Modernist development was considerably indebted to France. One part of Juan Ramón's juvenilia also belongs to this process of francophile acculturation.

III. DISEASED AND DECADENT DROOLINGS

In 1891 Alas dashed off yet another tirade against the younger writers, 'nuestros vates *fin de siècle*, nuestros simbolistas, decadentistas, instrumentistas, místicos, etc., etc.' (*Palique* [Madrid 1893], 275).

In the following decade and a half terms like 'místico', 'simbolista' and especially 'decadente' were to become part of the currency of abuse levelled at 'todo lo que no fuera castizo, es decir, todo lo que olierá a *extranjerismo* en general y a *afrancesamiento* en especial'.⁴ Darío related that when he asked Núñez de Arce for an opinion of Verlaine, Rollinat and Richepin he replied in no uncertain terms that they were 'algunos . . . enfermos . . . Sí, esa es la palabra: enfermedad. Toda la literatura francesa está enferma, está decadente, en el legítimo sentido de la frase. Estos neuróticos, esos diabólicos están demostrando que la Francia contemporánea ha decaído' (O.C., I, 664—65). In no less inimical terms did Spanish establishment critics condemn the art of their young countrymen. In mid 1900, for example, under the title 'Decadentismo', José Nogales, scourge of the *modernistas*, reviled 'esa juventud henchida de sabia (sic), anda azorada, sin encontrar camino . . . [es una] racha romántica, . . . racha colorista . . . ráfaga sombría' (*Madrid Cómic*, 21-VII-1900). Because of their apparent lack of sincerity and their artistic games he labels their art as *decadentismo*. While some critics, like Gómez de Baquero, were more fair in their judgements and could praise their delicacy and subtlety of emotion, nearly all were to condemn, 'una poesía desengañada y escéptica . . . poesía de un sentimentalismo enfermizo unas veces, otras de una "pose" de crueldad pretenciosa y refinada, . . . poesía anárquica, sin ideales conductores . . .'⁵ It was Emilio Ferrari, disciple of Núñez de Arce and mandarin of traditionalist taste and outlook, who, as we have seen, was the most outspoken on the question of the new so-called decadence in Spain. In tune with his serious charge of metaphysical heterodoxy we find several critics giving witness to Max Nordau's vision of cultural degeneration and pathological decadence. J. Cejador y Frauca's comments on 'arte decadente' are echoed by R. Silva Uzcátegui's peppery outburst not long afterwards.⁶ This Deterministic approach to modern art had begun, of course, with the emergence of experimental psychopathology in France.

When one considers the serene swans, the ethereal princesses and the limpid pools of *modernista* poetry and relates them to these outraged and often intemperate comments it is hard to reconcile the two. It is difficult to imagine that the charges of pathological decadence, of homosexuality, corruption, sickliness, and metaphysical heterodoxy could have been levelled at a poet who has been described by Darío as possessing 'la transparencia de un espíritu fino como un diamante y deliciosamente sensitivo' (O.C., III, 895) and whose muse has been categorised as 'de un romanticismo casto y suave' (*PI*, 144). Yet

Jiménez was not so out of tune with contemporary trends. The serious critical neglect of his early poetic experiments and the want of proper evidence for a full assessment, has meant that Jiménez's early development lacked due perspective.

To assume that French influence first appeared in the *Helios* period after the visit to France and to dismiss the early poetry before September 1900 as merely 'ensayos modernistas [que] demostraban una confusión de procedimientos natural en un principiante romántico y desorientado ante las tendencias poéticas en pugna' (PI, 69) is to obscure an essential episode in the history of Jiménez's development as a poet. A significant part of the poetic apprenticeship of Juan Ramón Jiménez was served in the workshops of the Symbolist-Decadence. Jiménez, as we shall see, was fully cognisant of Decadent literary theory and was one of the foremost in its experimentation in Spain.

IV. CULTURAL CONTACTS

1. *Frenchmen and Foreigners*

Spanish progressive writers of the Restoration period, while in part continuing the patterns laid down after the premature collapse of Romanticism, were particularly receptive to developments on the other side of the Pyrenees. Although Jiménez had adopted decadent attitudes by 1900 a major problem is the means whereby the recent French developments were transmitted to him. He, like a number of the major poets of the period 1875—1900 had begun to receive influences and ideas from abroad which created, in effect, a poetic sub-culture beneath the grandiloquence of the Restoration. French influences did not begin to reassert their hegemony over Spanish letters at the *fin de siècle* under the leadership of Darío. The Modernist enthusiasm for Paris expressed by Gómez Carrillo or by Darío in the *Autobiografía* is in reality the culmination of a trend which had been afoot for nearly a quarter of a century. In Reina's magazine *La Diana*, in the poetry of Ricardo Gil, Llorente and Catalan poets, the novels of Alejandro Sawa and the early criticism of Gómez Carrillo the growing influence of and interest in French letters from the 1880s onwards is patent. From the 1870s Eusebio Blasco and Ricardo Catarineu wrote regular articles on literary developments

in France, a trend which was to culminate in Emilia Pardo Bazán's *La literatura francesa moderna* published in her complete works in 1891. Nor should the essential roles of Alas and Unamuno as critics, commentators and disseminators of French literary ideas be underestimated. By the late 1880s Ricardo Gil and Carlos Fernández-Shaw were translating the works of Musset and the *Fantaisiste* poets Mendès, Coppée and Sully Prudhomme. The Sawa brothers, Carrère, Gómez Carrillo, Antonio de Zayas, Eduardo Zamacois, Rusiñol, Utrillo, Casas and a host of minor figures were regular visitors to the French capital by the early 1890s.⁷ They were soon to be followed by the Machado brothers, Rubén Darío and in 1901 by Juan Ramón himself. Many of them were personally acquainted with Symbolist-Decadent circles. Some even met Oscar Wilde, Beardsley and Arthur Symons. Many Catalans especially were considerably influenced by English Aestheticism and Pre-Raphaelite and Decadent painting. The literary reviews of the Spanish exiles published in Paris also gave news of the latest literary and painterly fashions. Baudelaire, as W. F. Aggeler's *Baudelaire Judged by Spanish Critics* (Athens, University of Georgia Press 1971) has shown, had become a *succès de scandale* in Madrid as early as 1887. Alas' sympathetic articles in *La Ilustración Ibérica* did much to popularise *Les Fleurs du mal* and Gautier's famous preface in intellectual circles. The histrionics of Alejandro Sawa and his companion Henri Cornuty and their worship of Pauvre Lélian was soon to become a part of literary folk-lore.⁸

Jiménez's enthusiasm for the new ideas and the eager acceptance of Darío and Villaespesa's invitation seem to indicate that he was very much a child of his age. Almost every critic of Jiménez has pointed to obvious French influences after his return from France; some have employed, without further qualification, the term 'decadente'. The major thesis of Palau de Nemes' revised *Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez* is that the striving towards the ideal of Beauty arises from a constant struggle between spiritual idealism and carnal appetite. In the early poetry she finds a strange juxtaposition of 'poemas eróticos sobre la carne', 'poemas de llanto' and 'una poesía perceptiblemente excesiva que raya en lo morboso y le lleva a lamentar la pérdida de un idealismo que sólo está extraviado' (144 & 153). What Palau de Nemes fails to recognise is that 'la inspiración juanramoniana [que] se nutría solamente del artificio, ... el fondo [que] surgía tétrico y erótico' (141) comes not so much from the wells of the subconscious as from the *serres chaudes* of the Decadence. Only J. Cejador y Frauca, Díaz-Plaja and Ricardo Gullón seem to have

specifically linked Juan Ramón with those currents that the former had condemned in a previous chapter of his monumental *Historia* (XII, 10). Cernuda has suggested that although Jiménez's early *romances* return to the traditions of the eighteenth century there is much that is suggestive of Mallarmé and Debussy's *Prélude à l'après midi d'un faune*. He further suggests that from *Almas de violeta* until *Laberinto* '[s]e respira en ellos, como en casi toda la obra de esta época primera, cierta atmósfera mórbida o palúdica'.⁹ Presumably Cernuda has the Decadence in mind.

It is impossible to be precise about when Juan Ramón read the many writers he cites in reminiscences and various notes to the effect of 'los que influyeron en mí'. He does claim that he knew more of Verlaine than *el maestro* and that he had read *Pauvre Lélian* first.¹⁰ He was given the works of Samain and Moréas by Darío before his journey to France.¹¹ He also regularly read *La España Moderna* which discussed developments abroad both artistic and scientific (*TG*, 223). The earliest experiments suggest that he had a considerable knowledge of progressive European writers and of Decadent trends while still in Seville. After a public reading of *Nubes*, Orbe warned Juan Ramón against 'los "mercuriales" franceses'.¹² In the pages of the reviews in 'La Biblioteca' or in those collected from his sister and preserved (*La Ilustración española y americana*, *Madrid Cómico*, *Blanco y negro* and especially *Mercur de France* and *The Studio*) he would have found much information about the trends in France and the latest artistic fashions. In the latter magazine alone he saw the work of Toorop, Schwabe, Knopf, Rackham; English Art Nouveau and a host of Decadent painters and illustrators.¹³ The role of book illustrations, special Christmas numbers of magazines and especially the photograph did much to help in the dissemination of the new artistic trends. Illustrations especially came to be dominated by Symbolist-Decadent conceptions. Jiménez may have been introduced to Arnold Böcklin in this way. In Madrid he met Gregorio Martínez Sierra who was in close contact with leading Catalan writers and publishers and it is likely that he provided yet another important link in the cultural chain. While we can be certain that he knew of Verlaine, Samain, Moréas and Baudelaire, the close affinities, the near echoes and coincidences of expression, the themes and images employed all suggest that Jiménez knew more of the Symbolist Decadence than he was ever later to admit. While many cultural contacts must remain conjectural an analysis of the early work suggests that the thesis outlined here bears serious consideration.

2. Manuel Reina

Even the most summary of comparisons of the poetry of Reina and *Ninfeas* would suggest that Jiménez had been attracted to the work of the man who was soon to become a close friend and adviser. Despite the neglect of the relationship between the two by Jiménez's biographers Aguilar Piñal has argued that a considerable debt remains over and beyond the debt to Darío. He draws attention to their common admiration for Gautier and their search for worlds of 'amores soñados y paisajes de clásica serenidad' (*OPMR*, 102—03). J. Campos and D. L. Shaw dispute the general view put forward by M. Henríquez Ureña that Reina had no links with Modernism. Yet, clearly, there are a number of evident links between Reina and *modernista* writers, especially Juan Ramón.

Reina was one of the first in Spain to read and enjoy the work of Baudelaire. He translated his work in *La Diana* as well as that of Gautier, 'initiator of the decadent movements'.¹⁴ While Reina's sensual themes belong to a tradition which goes back through Zorrilla and Arolas to the Anacreontics of the previous century their treatment must be associated with more recent developments in France. If the early *Cromos y acuarelas* (1878) and the *Andantes y allegros* of the year before show all the signs of Romantic exoticism, by 1894 in *La vida inquieta* there is a distinct change of mood. In this collection there is a growing awareness of the post-Romantic doubt and uncertainty which was spreading relentlessly through Spanish progressive intellectual circles. In this work Reina speaks of 'el tormento de mi alma', Romantic anguish. It was brought about among other reasons by 'los pavorosos funerales / de lo bello, lo grande, lo elevado / de todos los sublimes ideales'.¹⁵ Insight, 'la espantosa realidad sombría', had triumphed over the 'atrevido alcázar que elevó mi fantasía'. In 'Desde el campo' we find the Romantic recognition of the felling of vital illusions and faith under 'el hacha fatal del desengaño'. Amid the beauty of nature the poetic genius is moved to dream. The poet's imagination conceives 'ninfas bellas / hadas, musas, deidades y heroínas / . . . vuela el alma / por la región azul de los ensueños, / olvidando las fieras tempestades, / entre angustias y lágrimas, corridas'. Despite the echoes of Garcilaso's pastoral it is clear that Reina's pastoral belongs to the Arcadia of France. The poetic imagination and sensual pleasures have become a refuge and a consolation from spiritual disquiet. As with Darío, so with Reina, 'the deliberate recourse to the worship of art as a replacement for lost absolutes is nothing more

than a device which will serve as a source of consolation in face of the awareness of death compounded with an absence of religious faith'.¹⁶ Thus in 'La legión sagrada' and many other poems in the 1890s Reina proclaimed the supremacy of Art over all human experience.

We have seen how Jiménez was affected by what González Serrano diagnosed as 'la honda melancolía de la fe perdida'. Art became for Jiménez too a source of consolation and beguilement. In poems as early as 'Ofertorio' or 'Somnolenta' (PLP, 1465 & 1476) we discover an account in symbolic terms of a journey towards some form of aesthetic ideal in terms strongly reminiscent of Reina. Jiménez's 'virgen serena y radiante / [que] pondrá en sus labios un beso, / con los ojos brillantes mirando / los suyos con lúbrico anhelo', like the 'Musas delirantes [de] brazos marfileños', are clearly modelled on poems like Reina's 'Sueños' (*Andantes y allegros*) and his fantasy world peopled by 'huríes de excitantes formas / ... / esas vírgenes de ojos de esmeralda, / de túnica impalpable y níveo seno' and 'La visión amada' (*La vida inquieta*) '[que] viene a mis brazos, bebe mis suspiros, / me da en la frente un ósculo sagrado, / mi lloro enjuga y a los cielos vuela'.

This is no mere hedonism. Imaginative activity, and its expression through art in terms of sensual symbols, has become the means to an Absolute. In the face of 'tormento' (*angustia*) the poet finds both solace and a viable principle of belief in the pursuit of Beauty. It is only when the artist suffers from artistic impotence or similar frustration and the longed-for absolute of Beauty remains unattained that *tormento* supervenes.

Of interest, however, is not so much the common aesthetic and sceptical *Weltanschauung*, as the Decadent aspects related to them. The delight in visual and plastic effects, in colour and exoticism in Reina's poetry and in Jiménez's *Ninfeas* have often been associated with the vogue for *colorismo* that had begun earlier in the century and which achieved its fullest expression in the work of Salvador Rueda. It would be incautious, however, to associate Rueda too closely with either Reina, Darío or Jiménez. While all four show many common external characteristics, especially with regard to Graeco-Roman or mythical themes, to sensuality and striking effects, their world views are fundamentally antagonistic to the theory of *ritmo* postulated by Rueda. His refurbished theories of plenitude and the Great Chain of Being tricked out with the scientific jargon of the most recent discoveries in the field of science has little in common with the total commitment

to art and its relationship to the underlying pattern of spiritual unrest. Any proper understanding of these cultural developments should be based on the attitudes and the major themes expressed rather than on formal aspects. The association of *descreimiento* and the worship of Art expressed in sensual terms is a measure of the decadence of Reina and Juan Ramón Jiménez. Fray Candil, ever sensitive to contemporary trends, pointed out in 'El color en las letras' that a return to neo-classic themes did not necessarily mean that their reaffirmation could reengender a concomitant set of 'classical' (traditional) beliefs. For all of Rueda's anachronistic metaphysics the clock could not be put back. 'El arte moderno', wrote Bobadilla, 'no puede circunscribirse a la estrechez estética de los clásicos, por una razón: porque la vida contemporánea, en que se inspira, es más compleja, más refinadamente sensible, *más analítica*, más rica en matices, más sensual, *más escéptica y soñadora*, a un tiempo'.¹⁷ Hence his condemnation: 'soy partidario del colorismo cuando no degenera en orgiástico y delirante. Por eso el colorismo enfermizo de los decadentes . . . declaro que me encocora' (212). He might approve of Rueda's earthy sensuality. The tainted eroticism of Reina and Jiménez, however, represented something more dangerous.

V. THE ROMANTIC AGONY

Reina's pursuit of artificial worlds and temples of harmony belongs to that conciliatory spirit which was the hall-mark of Restoration thinking. 'The literary innovations of the mid-century', noted Shaw in 'Armonismo: The Failure of an Illusion', 'were merely attempts . . . to give formal expression to the harmony-ideal of the period' (359). Reina's *Andantes y allegros* (1877) and *Cromos y acuarelas* (1878) were no exception. *La vida inquieta* which appeared in 1894 marks a shift in emphasis in that, as in the work of other intellectuals of the 1880s and 1890s, there are signs of that common attempt to erect yet another barrier against advancing scepticism. The imminent threat of that *systematic* pessimism which Pastor Díaz forecast in 1837 called for fresh literary innovation. Reina's mingling of what Valera termed *descreimiento* and *sensualidad voluptuosa* is one aspect of the new emergent pattern. But the major stimulus to the new literary response came from abroad.

J. Lethève has asserted in 'Le Thème de la décadence dans les lettres françaises à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle (RHLF, 63 (1963)) that

'le besoin de fuite dans un passée évocateur, enrichi par la lecture de textes anciens, est un des premiers aspects du thème de la décadence'. (48)

Subsequently he was to add

'mais on y trouve un goût excessif de l'art ou plus exactement de l'artifice ou de l'artificiel, la recherche des raffinements psychologiques avec un appel au sadisme et à diverses formes de perversions *beaucoup plus mentales que vécues*; les règles morales et la religion y sont détournées de leur valeur traditionnelle pour offrir un ragôut de plus à des âmes blessées que le rare et le singulier seuls enchantent'. (58. My emphasis)

Verlaine, like Baudelaire¹⁸, was to claim that 'le mot de décadence . . . est fait d'un mélange d'esprit charnel et de chair triste'. He added that 'il y a aussi dans ce mot une part de langueur faite d'impuissance résignée, et peut-être du regret de n'avoir pu vivre aux époques robustes et grossières de foi ardente, à l'ombre des cathédrales'.¹⁹ These descriptions of the French Decadence would serve to describe its Spanish cousin.

1. *Delirious Muses*

In the work of Reina, and subsequently in Jiménez, Valle-Inclán, Carrère, Sawa, Gómez Carrillo or Llanas Aguilaniedo, we find a strong tendency to escapism. Thus both Reina and Juan Ramón create and long for exotic worlds distant in time and space. Reina nostalgically looked back to Imperial Rome and Ancient Greece, a common decadent theme.²⁰ Jiménez evoked both Rome and far-off lands inhabited by complaisant nymphs and lovers. Both showed a preference for the artificial to the natural, sophisticated to unadorned beauty. In 'Desde el campo' (*La vida inquieta*) the wooded glade in the imagination becomes a sensual pagan idyll. In the same way the misty melancholy garden of 'Quimérica' (*PLP*, 1504) gives way to the borderland of waking and dreaming allowing the poet to hear the song of celebration of 'el que pasa / la vida en un sueño / . . . el que aspira / a alzarse del sueño'.

¡verá realizados sus sueños!
una virgen serena y radiante
pondrá entre sus labios un beso,
con los ojos brillantes mirando
los suyos con lúbrico anhelo,
con los mórbidos brazos rodeando

su pálido cuerpo,
apretando a su boca con ansia
los redondos nacarados pechos.²¹

The decadent aspect lies precisely in the cult of the artificial. Much of the artificiality here is in part the continuing fashion for Romantic space-time exoticism. But the fundamental difference between Romantic and Decadent is that the latter wilfully recognises that the 'artificial' was *a priori* unnatural and depraved. The most obvious area of perversion was sex. If the decadent artist adopted the Platonistic idea of universal love and harmony and symbolised his contact with that transcendental realm of Idea in terms of physical union rather than the fleeting female figures, the result was predictable. Both Jiménez and Reina at times reject Bécquer's 'daughter of light' for the *betairas* of the Decadence. When artistic fulfilment is symbolised by sexual union then the most artificial art would be to turn the image of natural sexuality into perversity. Thus a dominant motif in Reina's poetry is that of penetration, echoed by Juan Ramón's obvious orgasmic references in 'Ofertorio':

en los brazos marfileños de las Musas delirantes,
por su pórtico dorado penetró mi noble alma,
anegándose en reflejos, en perfumes y en colores,
en placeres voluptuosos . . .

Another hallmark of the Decadence is its self-consciousness. Gautier aptly summed up this tendency in the *Notice*²² which Reina and Jiménez knew. Reina would have found the same idea when he translated Baudelaire's *La Fanfarlo* and Poe's tales. The love of decadent writers and painters for the artificial, the overdressed, bejewelled and over-rouged courtesans, *betairas*, tantalising nymphs, ondines and the *femmes fatales*, and especially that of Cramer for the Columbine La Fanfarlo, shows 'une imagination dépravée', as Cramer put it.

This explains why 'L'amour était chez lui moins une affaire des sens que du raisonnement'. A. E. Carter has commented that 'this calculated, intellectual side of the cult of artificiality is an essential part of decadent sensibility' (12). Thus the longed for ideal worlds are recreated in terms of sensual embraces with a variety of fascinating and wanton females, bedecked with jewels and rich veils rather than naked. The archetype was to be found in the paintings of Salome by Gustave Moreau so beloved of the French decadents and soon to find favour among some *modernistas*.²³ While many of these amorous

partners offer 'sacred' kisses to the poet, many give 'besos lúbricos', 'besos mórbidos', and lure the poet to perverse sexual encounters. Reina in 1894 expressed such an experience in a series of orgasmic gasps:

¿Quién no ama alguna vez a esa bacante
De ardientes ojos y de boca impura?
¿Quién no admira su espléndida hermosura?
¿Quién no buscó en su seno palpitante?
¿Quién en su beso erótico y vibrante
No oyó sublime canto de ventura,
Y el frenesí no siente y la locura
Al recibir su abrazo delirante . . . ?

Jiménez, like his friend Villaespesa, created a similar climate of breathless sensuality and artifice in 'Ofertorio' (1465), 'Quimérica' (1508) and 'Aurea' (1510). In 'Tropical' sexual climax is achieved in a setting of tropical luxuriance and oppressive heat (reminiscent of the *serres chaudes* of Maeterlinck, Mirbeau and the critics of Baudelaire) between a prince and princess who are taken directly from Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande* and Darío's *Prosas profanas*. Their 'ígneos espasmos de un Himeneo' symbolise the fulfilment of poetic aspirations which leads to indolent rêverie and enervation. The groves of exotic trees in this poem, despite the outdoor setting, belong, of course, to the decadent Conservatory of Evil, the hot-house of artifice. 'Artificiality, in fact', argues Carter, 'is the chief characteristic of decadence as the nineteenth century understood the word. By a voluntary contradiction of the nature cult, writers were able to see all the traditional Romantic themes in a new light and a new perspective. Their whole approach, of course, was entirely deliberate "against the grain" preferring the civilized to the primitive and the artificial to the natural . . . eschewing inspiration in favour of cold calculation' (25).

2. *The Gioconda Smile*

The poet's beloved is clearly his muse. She is also the temptress and the *femme fatale* of the Decadence. Art and love become one. Although Jiménez, following Musset, Baudelaire and Samain, turns melancholia into an end in itself, that melancholia is caused initially by intellectual pessimism, by the inscrutability of an art that refuses to

yield its transcendent secrets or love unrequited. Pessimism with regard to the impossibility of the mind to perceive absolute truth expressed in literary terms. Indeed, the muse-beloved, in the final analysis is nothing less than the Gioconda, complete with green eyes, whose smile is one of beauty which contains pain, perversity and death.

¡Quiero adorarte allí! ... Sobre la tierra fría
sueña una onda de niebla ... Envuelta en esa onda,
dando a tus ojos verdes vaga melancolía,
me dirás la infinita sonrisa de Gioconda ...²⁴

The influence here is less from Reina than from more truly Decadent writers. Among other English writers Jiménez read the poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Here, like the Catalan writers, Jiménez would have found a conspicuous preference for the sad and cruel, for the magical perversity of Beata Beatrix and the Blessed Damozel. According to Mario Praz 'the type of beauty idolised by Rossetti is the dolorous, exquisitely Romantic beauty; a spectral halo seems to radiate from his figures' (*op.cit.*, 244). The title of Juan Ramón's poem and the reference in 'Mística II' to kisses or the 'alma de lirio' wrapped in mist recalls the decadent predilection for the mingling of the mystic and the sensual. Another favourite Decadent aspect of the love theme is that of Death, and cruel and exquisite pain incarnate in female beauty.²⁵ It was Moreau and Knopf who best represented the theme of destructive beauty. In Moreau's 'Sphinx' series, as with Knopf's 'Art or the Caresses' (1896), which appeared in several Catalan literary reviews, we find a cruel and monstrous beast with the face of an imperious woman who plants her claws into the body of a languid youth (Jullian, *The Symbolists*, plate 54). So in Reina's 'El laurel rosa' (1900) the Chimera/Serpent 'hunde su corvo, emponzoñado diente/en el pecho del dios de la poesía'. Here, as in the martyr-poet's experiences in *Ninfeas*, we find an exploitation of those themes of the Decadent painters and the hieratic figures of Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante*: Cleopatra, Helen, the Chimera and the poet's beloved. Jiménez's 'Mística II' lacks much of the morbid, sensual cruelty of Moreau, Knopf, Samain and Reina. Nevertheless, the meaning is the same: Beauty offers both 'mystical' transcendence and consolation through a pleasurable but painful sensuality. It is also fraught with terror, the 'mal de la belleza' that Carrère was to speak of. The ecstasy of this 'mystic' or 'exotic' experience exiles the poet from his own present and — by the objectification of the self through self-contemplation — alienates the poet from self. In that 'mystic'

union the poet would discover a sort of metaphysical intuition of Beauty which allows a vision of some unique and essential value. For the aesthetes of the nineteenth century female beauty incarnated that essence. Jiménez was no exception.²⁶ After Gautier that essence had become not only mysterious and magical but painful, perverse and fatal. Art may offer a possible 'other-world' of delight and fantasy but all too often it destroys the artist. Reina seems to have recognised this aspect in Bécquer's *leyendas*. Although we find obvious imitations of the elusive woman of the *rimas* in 'La musa de Bécquer' (*El jardín de los poetas*) she becomes 'la impasible musa / de pupilas de esmeralda, / la esfinge que del gran poeta / el corazón desgarrá'. The Chimera of Beauty destroys all that it touches in a perverse reversal of the artist's expectations. Such a theme achieved its fullest expression in the Reina's sonnet sequence 'El poema de las lágrimas' published as a part of *Poemas paganos* (1896), and in *Rayo de sol* (1897). In 'La reina de la orgía' (*La vida inquieta*) the white-skinned courtesan bedecked with jewels and rich apparel, who symbolises the most perverse Beauty, is toasted by 'una juventud romántica' and is destroyed by her mate at the height of the orgy. In 'Ninfeas' (*PLP*, 1467) Juan Ramón expressed the longing for Beauty and *Ensueño*. Yet he suffers pain when the ondines refuse to yield the delights of transcendental dream. The poem shows all the call-signs of the new developments. The lakes of blood and melancholic gardens of the soul, the swan song, the chalice motif and the swirling curving interlaces and patterns of words that wreath the ondines themselves and the green eyes of La Gioconda mirror their painterly equivalents in the Modern Style and Symbolist-Decadent art of the 1890s.

3. *The Conservatory of Evil*

For Reina 'lágrimas sangrientas' had already come to signify a loss of vital convictions. Jiménez's 'penas sangrientas' also belong to the vocabulary of the post-Romantic loss of illusions and the Modernist struggle for a new set of absolutes in art. They possess an added dimension of perversity for he directly associates his suffering with perfume and flowers. Juan Ramón had begun to cultivate the Decadent conservatory of evil. Mario Praz has observed that 'the idea of the mingling of flowers and tortures is extremely common in the work of the Decadents' (386). In Reina's 'El poema de las lágrimas' the 'blanca beldad fascinadora' leaves in her train 'pétalos rojos que

llueven de la rama . . . / Es que el rosal, perdida su ventura, / llanto de sangre por la infiel derrama'. Juan Ramón's moonlit garden of pain, sighs, lost illusion and melancholy is planted with funereal 'nardos somnolentos'. These fuse with the moonlight, to bathe 'como una lluvia de Amor, los sufrimientos . . .', exhaling all the perfumes of *les fleurs du mal*:

Y fingen los aires diademas lacrimosas
tejidas por Angustias con macilentas rosas,

con rosas que se mueren y azucenas llorantes,
que por hondas heridas arrojaron fragantes

efluvios sanguinosos, efluvios de Dolores,
que en sus hieles guardasen infinitos dulzores . . . (PLP, 1488)

Mario Praz once observed that in decadent literature and painting décor is everything. Objects, he argues, become so many symbols of wickedness, lust and cruelty (419). In Jiménez's verses these aberrations are transmuted into indolent reverie devoid of movement, a beauty of inertia and contemplation, in tune with Baudelaire's dictum.²⁷ This led directly to the extreme of the 'mystic' art of *Arias tristes*. The décor of moonlight, exotic flowers, dark shrubberies and secret paths are in themselves an enunciation of a spiritual and moral atmosphere, a decadent *paysage d'âme*. That spiritual climate is one of retreat, from scepticism, artistic impotence and the anguish of the artistic and metaphysical impasse of thought and action. The lonely soul is ensnared by its own diseased imaginings.

In 'Hiel' (1494) the 'lirios morados', associated with death and martyrdom on the cross, become in 'Marchita' (1498) a 'rosal de sangre' and 'nevados lirios' which the wind scatters over the sobbing figure of the young woman now despoiled and deflowered by the deceit of 'un amor ingrato'. This is the very stuff of Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante*. In the opening sonnet sequence Samain and his beloved walk in moonlit gardens heavy with perfumes amid dying flowers and falling petals. 'L'âme en lueur des jardins sourds / Exhale d'étouffants arômes', in gardens that are motionless while the green eyes of the beloved 'rêvent dans l'ombre parfumée / D'affreux supplices pour les coeurs';²⁸ In 'Pálida', an unpublished poem dedicated to one of Spain's most decadent writers Alejandro Sawa, Jiménez's garden becomes the decadent archetype, the *jardin des supplices*. The scarlet and white lilies, charged with the evident religious overtones alongside the perverse associations of defloration and wilful

sterility, fill the air with a perfume which alleviates the poet's 'amargo dolor'. The poet, suffering 'negros delirios' in a garden which seems 'un triunfo de mudos martirios' under 'un crepúsculo lívido [de] lumbre violeta', describes a sort of artistic *crépuscule des Dieux*.²⁹ The emphasis on the languid and the ethereal is a symbol of artistic death, an easeful sterility prohibiting contact with the Ideal world behind the distant marine horizon:

Un crepúsculo lívido envolvía con lumbre violeta
el jardín y mi alma, aureolando su eterno pesar . . .
El lejano horizonte esfumaba su azul silueta

en un velo de bruma, blanca espuma de un célico mar . . .
Y entre sombra y fragancia, mi inmortal corazón de poeta
enviaba a lo lejos la cadencia de un vago cantar.

The distant marine horizon and the mood may have been suggested by a poem quoted by Villaespesa in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta*:

Hoy el Soñador navega por el lago tenebroso del Delirio. La medrosa embarcación, el buque fúnebre que cantó Hugo von Hofmannsthal, se desliza lentamente por las amargas ondas ensangrentadas,

sobre los viejos mástiles tendidas
melancólicas velas amarillas.

(PLP, 1518)

The reference to Hofmannsthal is curious. Clearly both he and, by implication, Jiménez knew 'Erlebnis' for Villaespesa quotes a free rendering of Hofmannsthal's

Das große Seeschiff aber trägt ihn weiter
Auf dunkelblauem Wasser lautlos gleitend
Mit gelben fremdgeformten Riesensegeln.

But the vast ocean-going ship moves on,
Noiselessly gliding on the dark-blue water
With yellow, strangely fashioned giant sails.

It may be that Hofmannsthal's poem offered a further decadent model. 'Erlebnis' is, as the title suggests, the account of an experience. In a twilight setting filled with mingled moonlight and a silver-grey fragrance the poet's thoughts suffuse into the atmosphere in a mystic experience. As in Jiménez's poems, Hofmannsthal's garden is profuse with shrubs and darkly glowing flowers and fraught with an overpowering feeling of death. Yet this feeling is not explicit, rather it is shadowed forth in the glow of the flowers and the deep ebb and

flow of a melancholy music, 'intensely yearning, sweet and darkly glowing, akin to deepest sadness'. The Conservatory of Evil with a new emphasis. The closing lines, echoing Mallarmé's 'Les Fenêtres', powerfully express the tension between an easeful death and the 'strange, nameless longing after life'. The experience of death itself can only be captured by the separation of the artistic self from its centre, the division of the contemplating body and the contemplated soul, artistic self-regard. The mirror of Narcissus and the mirror of nothingness tempt the poet to dream. We shall return to this problem later.

4. *The Worship of Pan*

Rafael Ferreres in an essay entitled 'La mujer y la melancolía en los modernistas' (*op. cit.*, 62—64) drew attention to the mingling of religious and erotic themes in *modernista* literature, especially in Darío, and to a lesser extent in Juan Ramón Jiménez. Any consideration of this aspect must start with Salinas' account in chapter IV of *La poesía de Rubén Darío* (Buenos Aires 1948) of what he calls *panerotismo* in the poetry of Rubén Darío. For Darío, argues Salinas, Love-Beauty is raised above the traditional expressions of the theme in a number of significant ways: there is no real or definable beloved and, more importantly, the love urge becomes 'un impulso vital' when Darío 'eleva la carne, la mortal carne humana, a la más insensata comparación con el pan de la Eucaristía, con el símbolo de la carne del Inmortal, la carne de Cristo' (65). Salinas concludes therefore that there is an 'alianza extraña de lo carnal y de lo místico, misticismo erótico. Porque en su sacrílego metáfora de la comunión, se percibe que el poeta siente en el placer carnal como un medio de llegar a la unión con el principio mismo del mundo, la carne todopoderosa' (66). This principle of the deification of sexuality freed from the subjection of time, a dominant feature of *Azul . . .* and *Prosas profanas*, must of course, be related to that other dominant of Darío's verse: 'lo fatal' in the poem of that title. Benedetto Croce's *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (London 1934) not only traces the Romantic origins of this 'refinement and sublimation of sensuality, which is the kernel of the romantic religion of love' but interprets it as a specific reaction to Romantic 'doubts and anxieties of thought'. The etherealized and enchanting women of 'Invernal' (*Azul . . .*) and the many poems in *Prosas profanas* on the subject of love are at one

and the same moment symbols of the consolation of the Ideal world of Art and Beauty and the object of beguilement from insight and the fear of death. In 'Coloquio de los centauros' death appears as Venus, Queen of Beauty and Love. In 'Yo soy aquel', the prefatory poem of *Cantos de vida y esperanza*, Darío speaks of the sudden awakening into sensual and spiritual life through the quickening powers of Art. In the sacred wood 'la caña de Pan se alza del lodo' at the behest of spiritual powers emanating from 'la armonía del gran Todo'. Elsewhere Darío celebrates the '¡Carne, celeste carne de la mujer!' and states that 'La vida se soporta / tan doliente y tan corta, / solamente por eso'. In 'El reino interior' he expresses a sensuality that is abnormal and perverse. Thus Darío, as Valera pointed out, not only associates *angustia* and *sensualidad voluptuosa* but in the pursuit of erotic embraces finds the secrets of life's enigmas. In short, Darío finds transcendence in the lap of his mistress. The logical conclusion of the plucking of 'el encendido clavel del sacrilegio' in 'Retratos' is the celebration of the 'misas carnales of 'Ite, missa est', 'La Dea', 'Divina Psiquis' and the Leda poems. The incarnation of this decadent archetype, a real life *dea*, was Cléo de Mérode. She combined the sensual, the artificial, the Pre-Raphaelite and the angelic, innocence and knowledge: 'una adorable Nuestra Señora de la Sonrisa' (O.C., I, 719—24). This delicious mixture of courtesan, dancer, Mona Lisa, Madonna and *fin de siècle* Lolita is an indication of Darío's Decadent perversity. It also accurately records the taste of one of Jiménez's closest friends. This phenomenon belongs to the Decadence. Mario Praz has commented on the significance of exoticism and artificiality with regard to mysticism. While the mystic projects himself outside the visible world into a transcendental atmosphere where he unites himself with the Divinity, the aesthete transports himself outside the actualities of time and space, and thinks that he sees in whatever is past and remote from him the ideal atmosphere for the contentment of his own senses:

'It is a question of starting from the same sensual basis and arriving at opposite points; for, while true mysticism tends to the negation both of expression and art, exoticism, of its own nature, tends to be a sensual and artistic externalization. The first culminates in a world which cannot be described, the second succeeds to such an extent in making itself concrete in an atmosphere remote in time and space (or both) that it gives the artist the illusion of an actual former existence in the atmosphere he loves.'

(*op. cit.*, 226—27)

The pursuit of Beauty by Decadents and Modernists alike is essentially a form of consolation rather than Art for Art's sake. Its decadent aspect lies principally in the cult of the artificial. It also lies in what Verlaine called 'un mélange d'esprit charnel et de chair triste'. On the one hand the longing for perverse transcendence; on the other the recognition of the limitations of mortality. In *Les Poètes Maudits* Verlaine divided his poetic canon into two parallel themes: religious and spiritual concerns, and themes 'purement mondains, sensuels'. Baudelaire's 'Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris' expressed a similar combination of the mystic and the carnal.⁸⁰ The poet who best exemplified this synthesis in Restoration Spain was Manuel Reina. He was soon to be followed by Darío and Jiménez. All manifest the decadent love of physical beauty and the desire for an ideal love. All three also hint at a deliberately nurtured corruption when that passion is tainted by less spiritual concerns. In Reina's 'Desde el campo' (*La vida inquieta*), the pagan idyll becomes a refuge, *angustia* becomes *ensueño*. In 'A una hermosa' we have the explicit association of sexual fulfilment, spirituality and doubt. We also find a rejection of the pleasures of the senses and of artificiality for the bliss of spirituality. These combinations of themes seem more consonant with the Decadent aspects of Gautier's work, with *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, the short stories and the famous *Notice* than Gautier's Parnassianism so frequently invoked in Reina criticism. Reina and Darío, like Jiménez, lived and worked in a climate that was eager for ideas from Paris and London. Jiménez's enthusiasm for Baudelaire, for Verlaine, Reina and Darío is expressed graphically in the figures of the sinuous and interlaced ondines and nymphs who caress the poet and bear him aloft to ethereal, mystical realms of dream and spiritual fulfilment. *Ninfeas*, especially, is a text book of the Spanish acculturation of the Decadent experience.

5. 'Soul and body, body and soul'

One of the most powerful decadent influences, as Lisa Davis has shown, was Oscar Wilde. He fed 'the controversy between life and art, reality and imagination' (*op. cit.*, 137). She adds that Wilde's doctrines probably influenced the formulation of Darío's aesthetics (143). There is no external evidence to suggest contacts between Jiménez and Wilde. It seems likely, however, that Juan Ramón partook in some measure, as did Darío, of a number of theories from

Intentions and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) which had become generally diffused in the *ambiente decadentista* and had mingled with other theories from other writers without being specifically attached to any of them. It was in the person of Dorian's evil genius, Lord Henry Wootton, that the ambiguity of the carnal and the spiritual aspirations of man were most pronounced. In an age of debate and contending claim and counter claim over the relative spheres of influence of Materialism and Idealism Wilde's preoccupation with the separation of matter and spirit is not surprising. All the call signs of artifice, self-consciousness, intellectualism, *dandysme* and the perverse ambiguity of pleasure/pain, spiritual/carnal appear in Lord Henry's summary of Dorian's development in chapter IV, especially in the musing on body and soul:

Soul and body, body and soul — how mysterious they were! There was animalism in the soul, and the body had its moments of spirituality. The senses could refine, and the intellect could degrade. Who could say where the fleshly impulse ceased, or the physical impulse began? ... the soul a shadow seated in the house of sin? Or was the body really in the soul as Giordano Bruno thought? The separation of spirit from matter was a mystery, and the union of spirit with matter was a mystery also.

Thus the artist must pursue both the sensual and the spiritual to make of life the 'first, the greatest of arts, ... Dandyism'. The *dandy* of Wilde sought 'some new scheme of life that would have its reasoned philosophy and its ordered principles, and find in the spiritualising of the senses its highest realisation'. It was to be Lord Henry's New Hedonism: 'To cure the soul by means of the senses, and the senses by means of the soul.'

The nagging fears of Manuel de la Revilla in the 1870s, followed closely by Campoamor and Valera in the 1880s had become an issue by the turn of the century³¹, an issue central to the present critical confusion surrounding the sensuality of Reina and Darío on the one hand and Rueda on the other. If Campoamor and Valera, along with Rueda and Ferrari, feared for the health of traditional moral standards it was inevitable that the *malagueño* should dissociate his celebration of sexuality from any heterodoxy. Hence his break with Darío and his alliance with Ferrari. Thus while Juan Ramón might borrow motifs or images from Rueda, poems like 'Cuadro' (PLP, 1501) and 'La canción de la carne' (1484) belong to another allegiance.

In Jiménez's 'Cuadro' Eve is presented as a 'virgen desnuda, incitante, / con el mórbido seno de amor palpitante', almost exactly echoing Darío's 'Ecce homo' (O.C., V, 480). We return to the Greece

of Moréas, Samain and Decadent France. Sexuality is tainted with both spiritual longing and pain at non-consummation with the Ideal. Thus the virgin is 'inflamada de Ensueños ardientes'. This ambiguous mingling of the imaginative spirit and the erotic, like the woman-flower motif, derives from decadent models in France and Spain. If in 'Rojos claveles' (*La vida inquieta*) Reina combined spiritual unrest, sexual encounters in the arms of a *betaira* and spiritual consolation, so in 'La canción de la carne' (PLP, 1484) Jiménez expressed similar ambiguities. In the equivocal light of the moon the epicene 'niña de pupilas verdes' (what else!) dances 'balanceando el cuerpo con ondulaciones tiernas, voluptuosas, / entornando triste los húmedos ojos' in a setting that recalls both Darío's 'bosque ideal' and the dying gardens of Samain, Maeterlinck, Prudhomme and Verlaine. Jiménez is glossing the latter's 'mélange d'esprit charnel et de chair triste'. The *niña's* song celebrates the delights of the flesh and its therapeutic powers against anguish and suffering ending on a crescendo note in praise of the 'rojo Día de la Desposada'. The familiar motif of sexual penetration is again interwoven with that of artistic transcendence. Jiménez's parallel celebration of defloration and of 'un Sueño de hermosas visiones enloquecedoras', suggests a fusion of body and soul: 'la carne es el ángel / que bate sus alas . . .'. The decadent climax when the flight of crows pursues the blood-stained dove, seems to introduce a more fearsome *frisson* — that of pain and death — into the synthesised hymn to the senses by means of the soul or the soul by means of the senses. For all the apparent transfiguration of human desire into spiritual essences, the 'myth' breaks off, as Darío's 'Coloquio de los centauros' broke off, at the very moment when the question of immortality is broached. The flock of crows pursuing a bleeding dove seems to suggest that the sting of death and the barb of evil have not been drawn. The 'horror fatídico de la muerte' has destroyed this particular consoling illusion. The conclusion, echoing as it does both Villaespesa's 'A Juan R. Jiménez' and Darío's 'Canto de esperanza' is a gloss on and a rebuttal to the 'Coloquio'. Darío had optimistically argued in Quirón's correction of the precipitate Orneo that

Ni es la torcaz benigna ni es el cuervo protervo:
Son formas del enigma la paloma y el cuervo.

The dove/predator image in 'La canción de la carne', following Darío's 'Anagké' (*Azul . . .*) and the 'Coloquio', establishes no such harmonious and synthetic principle. Nor does it resolve the problem of death and evil. Juan Ramón seems to be suggesting that the problem

cannot be resolved in a universe that manifests no benevolent ordering. *Panerotismo* for Jiménez could clearly hold no lasting comfort or attraction and this poem may be taken as a rejection of it.

6. 'Efluvios de pesar'

The tears of the *niña* associate sex with sadness, a perverse version of the classical *post coitum tristis* mood so typical of the poetry of Albert Samain and Moréas. The introduction of metaphysical pre-occupations amidst the consolation of art, the *paradis artificiels* of drugs and alcohol, the delights of the flesh, 'misas carnales', the strange and pleasurable beauty of pain, and languid death was to become, in Spain, the very stuff of Jiménez's early work and that of the minor Modernists. Unlike Juan Ramón, many never escaped the easy snares of the most superficial features of the Decadence. All the call signs of the diseased imaginings of Decadent writing seem to be summarised in one of Jiménez's descriptions of the atmosphere of the verses of one of them. In his critical essay on Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* Jiménez unravelled the tangled skeins of the troubled and morbid imagination of the Decadence to weave them again into a striking picture of the Romantic agony.

Flotando en la sangre de los dolorosos crepúsculos y en la violeta de las tardes de vaguedad y tristeza infinitas, hay un eterno beso negro que acaricia las frentes soñadoras, coronadas de espinas. Símbolo del dolor nostálgico ... Admirable cuadro aquel que representara este dolor: una sien dolorida atravesada por la espina del recuerdo blanco, de la rosa alegría, entre un nimbo negro de desventura ... Este amargor y esta sangre son un perfume ... El libro exhala efluvios de pesar como si fuera una rosa roja; y las hojas de esta rosa son también de perfume, Poesía suprema ... (LPr, 210—211)

Christ the Martyr's crown of thorns has become a new crown of pain and suffering: the pain of longing for the Ideal and its attendant anguish of insight, the Judas kiss of the Sphinx. Thus religious and aesthetic thought are perversely combined.

The tainted eroticism of poems like Reina's 'Orgía' (*Andantes y allegros*), 'Byron en el bacanal' (*La vida inquieta*) and the introductory sonnet of Reina's *El jardín de los poetas* explicitly pervert the natural. If carnal pleasures are etherealised and spiritual longings deliberately sullied by venal association, natural passion is given an added thrill by introducing metaphysical questions. The jaded senses of the decadent needed more and more exciting and unnatural stimulations to

excite them. Thus in 'Orgía' since 'el mundo es una farsa' Reina will live *à rebours* by turning the vital illusion of hedonism into 'truth'. In a magnificent reversal the fatal truth becomes a lie:

El mundo es una farsa,
gocemos sin cesar;
que sólo los placeres
y vicios son verdad.

In 'Rojos claveles' (*La vida inquieta*) the poet's 'tormento de . . . alma' was only alleviated by passionate kisses. In the same way 'Byron en el bacanal' toasts his lubricious companions from a cup fashioned from a skull — a reminder of death. Scepticism experienced amidst artificiality and lubricity makes of Byron's song a more desirable perverse 'erótico canto'. Jiménez's 'Nocturno' draws on the same tradition of the association of perverse sensuality and metaphysical doubts. This poem, like 'El paseo de carruajes'³² published only eleven days before, draws on the well-known theme of *contemptus mundi*. In spite of the association with spiritual writers like St. Thomas à Kempis there remains a discordant ambiguity. The initial celebration of the striking artificial and sensual effects of the 'Bullicioso conjunto, luz radiante, / perfumes de mujeres y de flores, / brazos desnudos, pechos mal velados / del color de nieve', becomes suddenly a dance of death. Yet no moral point is made; there is no genuine *desengaño*. Quite the reverse: added pleasure is derived from the conscious juxtaposition of the unbridled pleasure and the 'montón de amarillos esqueletos, / demacrados escuetos, / gusanos, fetidez, carne podrida'. Morbid delight is gained from the thoughts of physical corruption. This depraved cerebralism in the contemplation of the corruption of beauty is, of itself, a sign of decadence.

7. 'Agonías lúgubres'

The Baudelairean thrill of calculated perversity acting and reacting on perversity forces the mind to describe a circle from horror to satiety to *ennui* and back to horror. Indeed, the most perverse sensations derive from Poe's dictum in *The Philosophy of Composition* to the effect that 'the death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world'. If woman symbolises Beauty, the writer can express not only a perverse *frisson* in the face of death and corruption but also confront the extinction of Beauty itself.

As such, Poe was able to articulate the dilemma of the *poète maudit* caught between these two dominant ideas. The first is the recognition of nothingness. The second is the realisation of the inability of Art to capture Beauty or to provide a viable solution to the problem. Mario Praz has observed that 'for the Romantics beauty was enhanced by exactly those qualities which seem to deny it, by those objects which produce horror; the sadder, the more painful it was, the more intensely they relished it. The decadence adopted this theory and extended it' (43). In Reina's 'La canción de las estrellas' (*Poemas paganos*) Blanca's passion is converted into a languid, sensual death by drowning. This theme, so beloved of the Decadence, becomes, in Jiménez's early experiments, more perverse. In 'Y las sombras ...' (*PLP*, 1511) we find the poet indulging in a *délectation morose*.³³

(Era un alma noble y generosa,
que sufría un Dolor eterno ...:
le agradaba pasæar los cementerios ...,
y asomarse a los sepulcros entreabiertos ...,
y mirar cómo, a la tarde,
se alegran las cenizas de los muertos ...,
y besar los cráneos chicos,
y pensar en Agonías lúgubres,
al mirar los gestos raros de los sucios esqueletos ...
.....

Era un alma que gozaba en el silencio ...).³⁴

Such a poem is a perfect example of what Praz called the 'indissoluble union of the beautiful and the sad, of the supreme beauty of that beauty which is accursed' (48). In this poem, like Hugo and Baudelaire among others, Jiménez expresses the double-edged nature of the artist's task and the pursuit of Beauty. He takes an introverted delight in a beauty filled with corruption and melancholy. The pain of separation through death throws beauty into relief. It inspires love and the masochistic enjoyment of pain becomes a new thrill. In 'Tristeza primaveral' (*PLP*, 1524) the contrast of spring-time growth and promise of renewal, the memories of past happiness with the cemetery and the recollection of '¡aquella sonrisa de inmensa amargura / entre los azahares de la caja blanca ...!' evoke, in a crescendo of necrophiliac delight, 'unos deseos de ahogarme en mis lágrimas ...'. Bécquer's '¡Dios mío, qué solos / se quedan los muertos!' is repeated in 'Elegíaca' (*PLP*, 1537) and refined into a *delactatio morbosa*. With obvious echoes of the *rimas* — cold night, owls, sighing wind and the loneliness

of the dead — Jiménez perversely turns the melancholy of separation through death into pleasurable pain. The inversion of horror into the languorous contemplation of the lines

De su atahúd carcomido
por las entreabiertas tablas,
se arrastrarán los lagartos
hasta su carita blanca;
los gusanos asquerosos
le pudrirán las entrañas,

has all the perilous Beauty of those writers whose work Praz has ascribed to the all pervasive 'romantic agony' of the nineteenth century. Jiménez presents his grief *à rebours*. Suffering becomes pleasurable, pain becomes a tainted beauty. At the end of 'Elegíaca' the poet rejects the ultimate lure of necrophiliac delight

'no voy a pegar mis labios
a su boquita cerrada ...'
(PLP, 1538)

a temptation he yields to in other poems. The memory of the final kiss 'empapado en lágrimas' of 'Tristeza primaveral' (PLP, 1525) and the contemplation of 'aquella dulzura con que agonizaba' is converted in 'Luto' into a frenzy of morbid delight as the coffin lid is removed:

cubierto de flores de leve fragancia,
estaba su cuerpo
marchito, sin alma,
sus ojos, sin vida miraban al cielo;
su boca, entreabierta, besé yo con ansia ...³⁵

8. *Our Lady of the Moon*

Yet death is also treated mystically. In 'La visión amada' Reina recreated the vision of his dead wife in terms of a 'diosa ... la blanca musa de ala refulgente / y túnica flotante y vaporosa'. In 'Somnolenta' (PLP, 1476) and 'Melancólica' (1503) Juan Ramón portrayed his *amada muerta* now as 'una Sombra con cara de lirios y nieve, / que sus labios me ofrece y gimiendo me llama ...', now as a star. In other poems the melancholic beloved and the poet seem to combine erotic

reveries with mystical visions. The opaque mistiness of the landscapes, the wandering shadows, the ectoplasmic shapes of women who become flowers and plants with outstretched hands and shadowy faces, are reminiscent of many Decadent writers and painters in France and Belgium and Spain.³⁶ In 'Vaga' in an atmosphere of silver moonlight and heady perfumes in the 'jardín maeterlinckiano' which Ricardo Baroja had drawn for Valle-Inclán and which nearly became the frontispiece of *Ninfeas*, the beloved is only a felt presence. As the flowers of the garden, silver under the moonlight, open upwards the *poète lunaire* feels the consolation of the moon herself, as had Musset, Verlaine and Laforgue. The overtones of sexual ambiguity that moonlight signifies in the parlance of the *fin de siècle* colour the contact with some spiritual presence of love when 'las flores del cielo me daban un blanco reguero / de dulcísimo llanto impregnado de besos de amor...'. In 'El alma de la luna' (PLP, 1487) the muse / moon spirit walks crowned with 'nardos somnolentos', 'besando con su beso de nieves y azahares / a las Almas sublimes que devoran pesares... / ... / baña, como una lluvia de Amor, los sufrimientos...'. As such the spirit is akin to the virgin devotees of the moon who appeared in the work of Mallarmé, Flaubert, Samain and the tales of Poe. These introspective, wilfully chaste creatures of neurotic temperament indulge in a sterile contemplation of their own beauty. Artistic impotence and introvert melancholia become a desirable state associated with languid dying effects: twilight, autumn, moonlight. In many ways their longing for the infinite, (symbolised in their love of the cold, heavenly sterility and chastity of the moon and their ethereal nature), is depraved for they deny sexuality. The poet with his 'vago mirar lastimero / anhelando aspirar de sus flores del cielo de plata el olor...' feels all the cerebral pleasures of decadent *volupté*, what Sainte-Beuve in the novel of that title called 'une sorte de lueur rêveuse, attendrie, éternée'. The combination of moonlight, etherealised kisses, perfumes, dying effects and the ambiguous 'llanto [que] trocose en sonrisa de inmenso pesar' in 'Vaga' as in 'Mística I'³⁷ has all the call signs of that *impuissance* which plays such an important part in the history of Decadent sensibility. It becomes in many of Jiménez's later poems, and in *Arias tristes* in particular, what A. E. Carter has called a 'sort of spiritual paraplegia, an inability for any kind of action'. In 'Mística I' the poet and his *amada* enjoy a deliciously restrained relationship in a garden profuse with *les fleurs du mal*. The dying harmonies and pale light are strongly redolent of Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante*. Kisses and flower love-tokens give

way to a longing and nostalgic gaze at the heavens reflected in green eyes that sparkle with tears that once were stars.

Clavarás en el cielo tu tranquilo mirar,
y en tus verdes pupilas veré las silenciosas
perlas que las estrellas vierten al espirar.

As impotence and implied corruption overtake the poet there is a reinvigoration of the longing for the spiritual and the ethereal. In a word the natural sexual attraction between male and female is transformed into a type of sex in the head. Mario Praz has drawn attention to this aspect as a major feature of decadent sensibility. In much of Jiménez's juvenilia we find a delight in the refinements of an intellectualised love made up of angelic embraces, less torrid but no less decadent than Reina's or Darío's sexual encounters. In its restraint it amounts to a wilful detachment, a sexual *dandysme*, an act of cerebral onanism. It could be said that the image of penetration and the failure to achieve transcendental consummation are symbolic of some form of emotional uncertainty and immaturity. It may be that the revival by the Modernists of the Illuministic tradition of combining mystical and sexual orgasm was as much emotional immaturity as wilful perversity. J. Lethève has pointed to the interest among decadent writers in refined states of mind. The artist, he argues, thinks and watches rather than lives life.³⁸ Natural living gives way to life *à rebours*. González Serrano in an essay in April 1899 in *La Vida Literaria* confirmed the advent of the phenomenon in Spain. He described 'los enfermos del ideal' as 'ascetas del alma, quienes sienten surgir al lado del anhelo religioso las audacias intelectuales, su misticismo va acompañado de una curiosidad insaciable, amalgaman el valor y la debilidad, la ambición y la apatía, ... la desesperación y la frivolidad' (171).

Jiménez is capable, like his *modernista* friends, of following the model of Baudelaire's Samuel Cramer, who wrote poems to one mistress as a Muse and addressed her as a Madonna. In '¡Solo!' (*PLP*, 1531) Juan Ramón combines the pietistic and the perverse. As the Virgin de Montemayor is carried in procession into the sunset 'en auréolas de fuego' the poet sends 'en la brisa de la tarde ... a la Virgen un beso'. His act stems not from naïve piety. Nor is it part of a looked for religious consolation from the *angustia* of his 'pecho que / estaba helado y vacío, / sin ansias y sin recuerdos ...'. The past and the present are fused in 'un momento de majestad infinita' when the Virgin reminds the poet of the past happiness of days spent with the

now dead beloved. Beloved and Madonna become one and are adored without distinction.

¡Y yo adoraba a la Virgen!
¡ se parecía a mi niña ...!

Religious feeling and the perversely sensual memories of an absent and dead beloved are fused.

9. '*Carnales espasmos febriles*'

One further aspect of decadent sensibility has yet to be discussed: the pervasive *nostalgie de la boue* and the associated corruption consequent on *la vie bohème*. In writers of the 1870s and the 1890s we find pictures of viciousness and depravity. While it is true that Reina shared many of the sentimental socialistic preoccupations of his age and a regard for the deserving poor, a view expressed in the Hugoesque 'El niño pobre' or in 'El mayor crimen' (*Cromos y acuarelas*), there are other poems that do not properly belong to what Aguilar Piñal insists on calling 'las preocupaciones socializantes'. A series of poems in *Cromos y acuarelas* — 'La vi dos veces', 'La cortesana', 'El vino extranjero', 'Ayer y hoy', 'Desengaño' — appear to make social comments. In reality they are associated with a poem like 'A media noche' in the same collection. All these poems celebrate 'la vida sensual y placentera'. Erotic pleasure becomes the more attractive when associated with low life, the city and its dens of vice. In fact, the number of decadent heroes who actively seek pleasure in the company of courtesans, prostitutes and sexual neurotics is legion. While no explicit examples of such perversion in sordid bars and filthy bedrooms appear in Jiménez's early collections, his 'La canción de los besos' (*PLP*, 1468) is nothing more than a catalogue of sexual inversion and perversion. In the celebration of the 'beso de fuego' whose song rings out,

en vapores de vino espumoso,
como nota de lascivia música,
como nota inflamada de anhelitos locos,
de carnales espasmos febriles,
de deliquios furiosos...;
... en fragancias de Carne lasciva,
... entre risas de orgiástico gozo...
...
entre el ritmo carnal de pechos turgentes y mórbidos...

fulfilment can never be found, passion cannot be satisfied and sexual climax takes place in a glorious synaesthesia of music, wine, soft couches and the taste of damp and impassioned flesh. Other 'kisses' sing songs of the paroxysms of death, of the pain of defloration, of the agony of childbirth and of the longing for the quiet of the grave. In 'Las amantes del miserable' (1491) the final agonies of the beggar are visualised in terms of the two fatal embraces: those of 'la negra Soledad' and 'la Sombra de la Muerte'. The first leads him 'a su tugurio, / como a loca prostituta que se vende, . . . ; / . . . / a abrazarla con abrazos delirantes, / a morder sus flojos pechos que no sacian / los carnales apetitos . . .'. Death 'es la infame prostituta de las calles de la Vida', to whom the beggar gives himself willingly. As the poem closes the death throes and contortions of the unfortunate beggar are described in terms of the filthy bedroom of a brothel.

Ya el mendigo cae en el lecho;
ya el mendigo se revuelca con espasmos angustiosos,
con febriles contorsiones,
entre besos y quejidos y caricias
de sus fúnebres amantes ardorosas, insaciables . . .

In fact the beggar is the poet. This poem combines the pursuit of Beauty and this type of Decadent sexuality completely. The logical consequences of Bécquer's metaphor of the fleeting women as the poetic ideal have been realised.

10. *The Gaze of the Sphinx*

The free mingling of aesthetic idealism with explicit religious terminology and concepts, the language of the mystic ecstasy symbolised in terms of love and sexual congress and the *frisson* of the fear of death form the leitmotifs of Reina's *La vida inquieta* and the early collections of Darío. Yet these perverse *paradis artificiels* are the product of and are menaced by scepticism and doubt. In Juan Ramón's 'Mis Demonios' (PLP, 1472) the poet longs for union with the spiritual and visionary world which offers a harmonious interpretation of life. Yet, as for Reina and Darío, the sensitive mind is constantly beset by its chief enemies: *Ensueño*, *Delirio* and *Desencanto*. The first is a false friend. The power of the imagination allows the poet glimpses of the essential yet indefinable vision to which he can

respond, but which he can never express. The 'luz sublime del Ideal', a decadent version of the Grail, leads the artist-quester onwards. *Delirio* aggravates the longing, 'tr  e a m   mente fiebres quim  ricas', but brings also a hint of impending disillusionment. As the dreamer 'casi alcanzaba . . . azules cielos encantadores' the implied Chimera unlocks the secret enigmas. The subjective mind is brought sharply against the poet's essential problem: the limitations of language and the inability of rendering in an adequate form that unutterable experience of contact with the spiritual world. Suffering from artistic impotence the poet tastes the bitter gall of the cup of the King of Thule.³⁹ The consolation of Art collapses in ruins as the poet reels from the gaze of the Sphinx and 'el sarc  stico Descanto'. He realises that the artistic quest is nothing more than an illusion. Robbed of it, the poet is confronted with the fearsome vision of nothingness itself which he had sought to escape in Art. The wheel has come full circle and the poet is once again 'gimiendo entre las sombras del fr  o abismo de la Verdad . . .', an expression derived from the language of the sceptical outlook of the Romantics. The same theme is repeated in the 'Ofertorio' to *Ninfeas*. At moments the experience of illumination and the *Ideal* affords a brief consolation from gloomy thoughts. In 'Somnolenta' in a landscape that is a pathetic fallacy of the inner mood, as the poet considers the 'recuerdo doliente de Amores perdidos' he becomes aware of a '[d]ulce ritmo armonioso de vaga amargura' which is quickly followed by a vision of the spiritual world in terms of the shape of 'una Sombra adorada'. This vision, irresistibly reminiscent of the heroines of Poe, B  cquer, Dar  o and the beloved of Silva's 'Nocturno', brings a measure of calm and consolation. The belief in the consoling powers of Art and of the imagination is the central affirmation of 'Quim  rica' where the Chimera is a more friendly companion. The green-eyed beloved can, of course, easily become a Gioconda. In that poem we have the *modernista* version of the mystic 'dying into life' and the 'dark night of the soul'. The fundamental difference is that it is Art, the Platonic world of 'El Ideal', rather than Heavenly Grace, which is the culmination of the spiritual quest. Nevertheless the language and the experiences of the quester are similar. The rewards for the mystic are permanent. For the heterodox Modernist that quest is an unending circle of repetition from anguish to Art to *Ideal* to the central enigma and artistic sterility back to desolation and doubt.

VI. THE MESSIAH AND HIS PROPHET

Partly because of the lack of basic research on the 'ambiente pre-modernista' first noted by Narciso Alonso Cortés and Enrique Díez-Canedo⁴⁰, partly because of Darío's huge prestige in the annals of literary history, the importance of the purely Spanish contribution has been minimized. The importance of Reina and other powerful influences operating in Spain from the mid-century onwards must now be granted their proper status and significance.

Yet the critic should not be led into the extreme of totally neglecting or overlooking the impact of Darío's 'second coming' in 1899. The event could not have been more fortuitously named for Darío came like a Messiah bringing the new religion of Art and Beauty to offer

el arte puro como Cristo exclama:
ego sum lux et veritas et vita.

If Darío was the Messiah then it was Reina rather than Rueda who was his prophet. Jiménez was to form a close friendship with Reina until his death in 1905. Yet for all the enthusiasm of the response to Reina's rally call to Art in 'A un poeta' and the subsequent direct echoes of the Cordoban's exotic and erotic dream worlds, such influences could only be temporary. Reina had given Jiménez a ready-made aesthetic and poetic language. Reina was a model of the poet dedicated to the realisation of Beauty as an article of faith. We cannot doubt that Juan Ramón had thoroughly studied the collections of Reina and *La vida inquieta* in particular. Yet Reina, in the autumn of 1901, was to recognise the fundamental difference between his own approach to art and that of the younger man. This difference was summed up in his comment to Jiménez that 'su flor es la sensitiva' (*LPr*, 900). Reina clearly recognised that his own love of bright and sensuous colours, plastic forms, orchestrated tones would inevitably become discordant to a poet who preferred moonlight settings, etherealised forms, sombre tones and languid dying effects. *Ninfeas* was able to combine the 'poesía colorista y brillante' of Reina with more subtle poetic effects learned from French and Belgian writers. The combination of these various types of expression makes *Ninfeas* an interesting collection in terms of contending modes of expression. It is interesting too in that it reveals just how much an apprentice Jiménez was at this time. The truly Symbolist, rather than Symbolist-Decadent, trends partially formulated in the 1860s, were set aside, temporarily, by the *poesía colorista y brillante* of Reina's work and

by the Decadent gloss of his themes and imagery. This paved the way for the eager reception of Darío's decadent exoticism and the poetry of the Latin American *modernistas* Casal, Freyre and Díaz. The Symbolist aesthetic continued to be influential, of course, as we shall see. Darío was one of the first critics to praise the plastic quality of Reina's verses and their vibrant artificiality (O.C., III, 252—53), a theme argued more fully by Aguilar Piñal (*OPMR*, 74—75). Aguilar Piñal misses the real significance in his statement that Reina 'pretende plasmar en unos cuantos versos la visión de su realidad espiritual, siempre en forma plástica' (74). It was Reina's *decadencia* as much as his *colorismo* that prepared the way for much of the impact of the full-blown Decadence of Belgium and France in Spanish Modernism. In conclusion therefore, it may be argued that a shallow judgement of *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta* in terms of Ramón de Garcíasol's simple 'filiación becqueriana' (*CHA*, 135 (1961), 384), must be received with considerable reservation. Similarly the superficial concordances established by H. A. Harter between Jiménez and Bécquer⁴¹ overlook one substantial objection. Although Jiménez uses images of light in 'Ofertorio' and related poems, where light symbolises the link between the real and ideal worlds, the emphasis is less to express the incorporeal and luminous visions we associate with the *rimas* and the *leyendas*. The palaces of the Ideal might echo the shimmering dreams and fantasies of 'el divino Gustavo Adolfo' yet, in the final analysis, the heady perfume, the rich colours, the enchanting cadences of music, the sensuous, tormented and painful embraces in the ivory arms of the Muses and the stifling artificiality belong more to the Decadence. Reina's and Samain's beloveds are not the delicate and formless ideal pursued by Manrique. Harter's comments need qualification, especially the remarked coincidence of '[l]a perspectiva nostálgica y melancólica de la vida, el anhelo no satisfecho por el ideal, las ansias y la incumplida pesquisa de una satisfacción espiritual de un ser quimérico' (57). The same coincidences are to be found between Juan Ramón and Reina or Juan Ramón and Darío. What is important is the *manner* of expression and, above all, the aesthetic and the metaphysical outlook that underpin them.

Jiménez's early aestheticism was inspired by the Decadence and in the mature lyricism of Reina and Darío. Aguilar Piñal's judgement that 'la influencia de Reina, tanto en Rubén como en Juan Ramón no podía ser profunda ni duradera' (*MRmod*, 7) is unquestionably correct. Jiménez was soon to abandon the language and imagery of Reina and Darío. It is true that the young poet, newly returned from

France, excited by the aesthetics of the Symbolists, would resent the interference of the older man in his latest poetic experiments.⁴² It is clear that after the radical decision to opt for the aesthetics of Verlaine and Bécquer rather than that of Darío, the Latin Americans and the fashions of the *coloristas*, that the break with Reina was inevitable. Nevertheless, although he rejected their outward show, the belief in art and *dandysme* as an absolute principle for conduct and life was to remain.

CHAPTER FOUR:

SADNESS AND SENSIBILITY, MUSIC AND MYSTICISM

However much plastic and Decadent imagery attracted Jiménez, one fact cannot be overlooked: a considerable number of the early poems recall the intimate suggestive poetry of Bécquer and his genuine heirs. E. Díez-Canedo in *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su obra* was one of the earliest critics to observe, amidst 'notas lúgubres y sensuales, ... una ... nota más sencilla, más íntima, precursora de ... *Arias tristes*' (30). Ricardo Gullón was more precise when he pointed to the distinct aim of Modernist poets and the contrasting qualities of *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta* in particular: 'inclinaciones "decadentes"' on the one hand, 'lirismo intimista ... poesía interior espiritual' on the other.¹ Virtually every critic has pointed to the impact of Bécquer as the obvious source of an allusive style. A detailed assessment of the juvenilia from this view-point is wanting. This strain was, after all, to form the centre of a lifetime's poetic process. While describing with more accuracy its genesis, a consideration of the impact of the general aesthetic climate of the age might also prove illuminating.

It is a commonplace in histories of *modernismo* that its young adherents reacted violently against what Salinas has termed 'lo caduco, el hueco academismo del siglo XIX, y la chabacanería de la Regencia' (*ECM*, 33). This type of over-generalisation leads to a number of inaccurate assessments of the developments in the 1890s. First, the forces of regeneration were well advanced by the early 1880s. Second, critics have failed to pay due attention to those minor poets of the 1880s who never became 'established' figures. Third, Bécquer had a huge following from the 1870s onwards. No literary movement develops its revolution *in vacuo*. Furthermore, the revolution in poetic diction and expression achieved by the *modernistas* would have been less successful without the trail-blazing of a central Restoration figure. Ramón del Campoamor, despite all the critical comment to the contrary, continued to be admired. With regard to this any account of *modernismo* and the development of Jiménez's poetics without reference to Campoamor would be incomplete.

I. RAMÓN DEL CAMPOAMOR

Both Vicente Gaos and Luis Cernuda have shown that in terms of theory Campoamor was in possession of an extremely coherent and consistent body of aesthetic ideas.² D. L. Shaw has linked Campoamor convincingly with Espronceda and the poetry of *sesgo metafísico* in a contemporary context (*History*, 65). Campoamor shares this on-going sceptical outlook in common with the Modernists. Indeed his emphasis on significant content, on *pensamientos, problemas, lo intelectual*, on *las ideas* indispensable to art, was to form the centre of the new literary developments. Similarly, Campoamor's view that this thought content should be transmuted into imagery and expressed in rhythmical language finds its place in Rueda's *El ritmo* and Darío's many pronouncements on rhythmical expression. Fundamentally at variance with the new generation, of course, is the strictly narrative approach and the dramatic manner advocated in the *Poética* and found in the *Pequeños poemas* and the *Doloras*. The principal themes of these collections, however, — the philosophico-religious problem, 'poesía de vértigo, de vacilación y de duda', and that of love — are *modernista* commonplaces. Admittedly there is much that differentiates Campoamor's easy-going humorous detachment from their seriousness and melancholic intensity. The revival of the *cantar* tradition and the short *romance* containing scepticism expressed in a pithy form, so typical of the older man, was cultivated by Silva, Jiménez and Antonio Machado. This indicates how deeply Campoamorian procedures had penetrated. It was probably the simplicity and directness of utterance of popular verse that most attracted Jiménez when he began, tentatively, to set aside the rhetorical gestures of *modernista* art in favour of a more intimate expression. In 1904 he wrote to Darío to say that 'Campoamor era un poeta, indudablemente; pero no tenía el menor sentido de las cosas plásticas, y así su verso era un verso plebeyo salvado por el humor; pero no por las rosas ni por el cielo azul'. Campoamor lacked an eye or ear for what *modernistas* were to conceive of as beautiful and musical and a temperament that sought mystery in poetry. He preferred the intellectual to the emotional. It seems likely, however, that the qualities Jiménez admired are to be found in Campoamor's attempts, almost single-handed in Spain, to reform poetic language. It cannot be pure coincidence that Campoamor's celebrated statement in the *Poética* to the effect that '[C]uánto más popular y cuánto más nacional sería nuestra poesía si en vez de la elocuencia artificiosa de Herrera se hubiera cultivado este lenguaje natural de

Jorge de Manrique³ echoes almost exactly two of Jiménez's professed aims. First the desire for a truly 'popular' poetry, second, his statement concerning the impact made on him in the late 1890s by the regional poets of the nineteenth century. It is also arguable that his theories made a significant and decisive contribution to the development of aesthetic attitudes in Spain. As long ago as 1923 in 'Los comienzos del modernismo en España' E. Díez-Canedo had argued that the two post-Romantic figures of note were undoubtedly Bécquer and Campoamor. While a direct style may well appear inimical to the Symbolist-orientated centre of *modernista* aesthetics, the value attached to the interior meaning of words rather than their rhetorical value is in tune with poetic trends in the 1890s. Even a cursory survey of Campoamor's pronouncements on the nature of poetry would suggest that his theories were directly contributory to the emergence of Modernism in Spain and towards the development of one significant aspect of Jiménez's poetic. What has to be explained is the considerable regard expressed by a wide range and cross-section of the younger writers for Campoamor.⁴ Azorín was not alone in expressing a high regard for Campoamor. 'Entre los poetas profesionales ... descuella en primer término Campoamor, para mí el más grande maestro Parnaso (O.C., I, 182—83). Shaw's view that when *modernismo* became established Campoamor's poetry fell into disfavour with the cultivated minority (*History*, 67) might suggest, that as the *premodernistas* absorbed Campoamor's poetic theories and put them to practice, those theories were passed on at second hand in a new guise. Poets like Ricardo Gil, José Asunción Silva and a number of regionalist writers provided the means of transfer of Campoamor's aesthetics. He was a formative, though indirect, influence on what, subsequently, was to become the dominant mode of poetic expression of Jiménez for the best part of twelve years.

In many ways Bécquer and Campoamor shared considerable common ground with regard to aesthetic viewpoints. Campoamor enunciated a number of propositions that hand on the legacy of the Romantics to the emergent *modernistas*. With regard to this one might mention Campoamor's acclamation of art as the supreme human activity (*P*, 132). It is man's aesthetic sense that enables him to perceive purpose and meaning in an age that seemed bereft of vital convictions (religious, nationalistic, humanitarian, or other) (*P*, 133). Art offers that spiritual order and moral purpose. In tune with Hugo's doctrine of the superiority of the artist and the growing tendency elsewhere in Europe to dissociate art from any utilitarian, educative, or social role, we find

Campoamor tartly dismissing not only the utilitarians but also challenging academic prescriptions. The major emphasis, however, is on the superiority of the artist. He scoffs at '[e]l vulgo del entendimiento' (P, 10) and 'críticos miopes' (P, 20). He scorns those who are only able to count syllables and assonances and who ignore the genuine content of poetry. He also derides the Academy, Hermosilla's Neo-Classicism (P, 21), rhetoric (P, 99—102) and especially critics like Antonio de Valbuena who spitefully dismiss new talent. Indeed, Campoamor's commentary on the '*sabandija* [que] [c]ensura lo bueno, elogia lo mediano, llama ñoño a lo discreto, desvergonzado a lo gracioso, soso a lo culto' (P, 22—23) is reminiscent of many similar statements by Darío and almost exactly echoes the repudiation of Antonio de Valbuena in Jiménez's review of *La copa del Rey de Thule*. We have the classic reaction to a lack of understanding on the part of the uncultivated majority: the recourse to the belief that the true artist belongs to a select band of spiritual brothers, 'supremas inteligencias', who are gifted to have insights, aesthetic and metaphysical, into the nature and purpose of the universe (P, 87—88). Campoamor, all too often categorised alongside Núñez de Arce, properly belongs to the genuine Romantic mainstream in terms of aesthetics. He is against instructive and utilitarian art. The centre of his poetics is, in essence, an easy-going sublimation of the question of metaphysical dissolution by means of art. This, indisputably, is to become a major feature of *modernista* aesthetics. For Campoamor, 'la metafísica es el alma de las obras literarias, y la forma poética su traje de los días de fiesta' (MyP, 146—47). Thus when, in that quaint and mock-serious polemic between Campoamor and Valera, *La metafísica y la poesía*, Valera laments that 'el momento es pavoroso y lúgubre. Se piensa que nos hemos quedado sin religión y sin metafísica. No hay más que empirismo, ciencia', to the detriment of metaphysical explanations of the universe and the health of society, Campoamor remains serenely unmoved. Campoamor can reduce the materialist attack into a minor skirmish. For Campoamor poetry was a branch of metaphysics. As he was to note in *El Ideísmo*, echoing the German Idealist and the English Romantics, 'la belleza es la verdad bajo una forma sensible' (112). Art must deal with transcendental issues and the spiritual aspirations of men. 'Los versos han de tener la fosforescencia transcendente que da a las cosas humanas la luz de lo infinito' (P, 120). This is the heart of the discrimination between *el arte por el arte* and *el arte por la idea*, the central affirmation of the *Poética*. Jiménez was to argue along similar lines as his art matured and his aesthetic ideas clarified. In the writings of the 1930s and the

1940s we find, time after time, phrases that echo Campoamor's *Poética*.

There were also other reasons for Jiménez's sympathy. In a short philippic against erudite art, *el arte por el arte* and 'la forma poética tradicional ... convencional y falsa' Campoamor affirmed his allegiance to what he vaguely termed 'algo de lo incondicional humano'. D. L. Shaw's important 'The Anti-Romantic Reaction in Spain' has ably associated this aspect with the emergence of a literature based on the propagation of *verdades útiles*; 'that a greater emphasis on art as an end in itself will deflect writers from acquiring dangerous ideological preoccupations' (610). Campoamor will have none of this in spite of the dangers of *disolvente* ideas.

'La poesía verdaderamente lírica debe reflejar los sentimientos personales del autor en relación con los problemas propios de la época; ... la poesía para ser grande y apreciada, debe pensar y sentir, reflejar las ideas y las pasiones ... de la sociedad en que vive. ... Lo que el artista no puede olvidar es ... que lo universal es el carácter de la época actual. ... Los poetas de este siglo están obligados a tener en su lira ... una cuerda más, y esa complementa suya'. (P, 77 & 90)

It may be on such grounds that Valera took up the cudgels with Campoamor just as in 1888 Valera censured Darío for dabbling with serious metaphysical questions. Cernuda's comment on the *Poética* in his *Estudios* '[m]e parece que es ahí donde expresamente aparece por vez primera en la historia de nuestra literatura la referencia a las *impresiones subjetivas* como tema poético' (29), overlooks Alcalá Galiano's reference in the prologue to Rivas' *El moro expósito* to 'conmociones internas'. Nevertheless, the theme is the same: the artistic reaction to the Romantic sceptical outlook. The process had been developing since the 1830s. The message of Giner de los Ríos' essay 'Del género de poesía más propio de nuestro siglo' and Narciso Campillo's *Retórica y poética, o literatura preceptiva* (Madrid 1878), among other assessments in the 1860s, clearly point the way to the renewal of the inner quest and the expression of purely individual and personal feelings. Campoamor's comment in the *Poética* some twenty years later would indicate that the 'impresión subjetiva' was reinvigorated in lyric poetry by a growing unease among progressive writers.

Hoy el artista que, prescindiendo de los metros y de las bagatelas exteriores de la forma, mire al fondo del alma humana y estudie las condiciones de su destino hallará inevitablemente un cierto pesimismo que es inherente a la naturaleza material y moral de todas las cosas. Por ejemplo, impregna el alma de dudas y confusiones el ver el deber en lucha con las pasiones;

la incesante labor a que nos condena la necesidad de buscar el pan nuestro de cada día; los bienes que se esperan y que llegan convertidos en males; lo cómico que se entrelaza con lo trágico; las dichas que entrañan tristezas sin consuelo; . . . y por fin la muerte, como solución de continuidad de todo lo que hemos amado en nuestro tránsito por la tierra. (*P*, 33)

It is a fairly accurate prediction of developments in the poetry of the *modernistas* and Jiménez.

As the poet wrestles with the stuff of art — his own spiritual and philosophical preoccupations — it is as if through the creative act an invisible force possesses him. In some intuitive way he can achieve an absolute ideal.

Cuando el verso y la prosa están construídas con este primor instintivo, tiene el lenguaje el prestigio misterioso de la música, . . . y el verso y la prosa entonces llevan una fuerza de proyección intelectual. . . . *Toda su hermosura nace del interior*. . . . es la exteriorización de la *hermosura interior*, la imagen relativa de la belleza ideal absoluta.⁵

Thus the poet transcends his spiritual problems to perceive '[e]l sentimiento de lo bello [que] palpita en todos los órdenes de la vida desde el instinto hasta el razonamiento' (*P*, 133). Art offers a means to transcend the anguish of metaphysical uncertainty. Such statements seem to have more than a passing similarity to Darío's pronouncements on art, and to sentiments expressed in Jiménez's early work. Campoamor contributed in no small measure to that growing tendency to discover an art which looked inwards, which spoke of spiritual problems, which attempted to suggest more than words could say and which aspired to a total art form. Similarly Campoamor's belief in Beauty as the one viable absolute and his belief in the superiority of the artist and of art over all other human beings and all other human endeavours allows him a modest claim to be considered an influential precursor. In addition Campoamor's call for a universal and a personal art (*P*, 90); an art that would combine the poetic with the popular and the natural (*P*, 111); an art of ideas rather than rhetoric, of nuances that gave glimpses of 'lo infinito' (*P*, 120), would confirm such a view. Campoamor's ideas and theories were partly instrumental in paving the way for what Rafael Cansinos Assens called 'modernismo de tono menor'. In *La metafísica y la poesía* Campoamor all but wrote a *modernista* manifesto:

Considero que el género trascendental es el enemigo natural de los tontos, pues estos, satisfechos con la expresión material y exterior del lenguaje, no llegan a comprender nada del sentido íntimo y figurado. Estos benditos de

Dios no tienen bastante malicia para presentir que lo que se calle suele ser más importante que lo que se dice. La buena fe de estos míopes literarios no *se hace cargo de las frases subrayadas por el pensamiento*, ni de los rodeos estratégicos que el autor hace para *decir lo indecible*, ni de los cambios de postura que inventa para llamar su atención. Los partidarios de la lelez literaria, ni saben leer entre líneas, ni entienden nada de lo sobrentendido, ni conocen jamás cuando la procesión *va por dentro*'. (154) [My emphasis]

The importance of Campoamor's poetic theories rather than his practice cannot be lightly dismissed.

II. LA HERMOSURA INTERIOR

1. Rubén Darío

Darío was always unusually vigorous in proclaiming his own role in the emergence of *modernismo* in Spain. 'Los colores del estandarte' of 1897 was a part of the propaganda offensive. Here he asserted that he was directly instrumental in bringing a new minor-key musicality to the sonority of Castilian verse. As always, Darío was singularly ungenerous to Bécquer. Yet for all of Darío's praise of Ricardo Palma in *Páginas de arte* Darío himself lacked a volatile and diffuse touch. Darío might admire Palma's qualities, only rarely was he able to give them expression himself. Although we should not minimise the importance of the Nicaraguan in the development of Spanish *modernismo* and Jiménez in particular, we must accept Gerald Brown's restrictions: the new poets may have owed more to Verlaine than to Darío; Darío's poetry liberated the young men from old inhibitions rather than provided models to be copied; the Spaniards turned inwards in a way that Darío rarely did (*op. cit.*, 67). Jiménez noted on two separate occasions that Darío was ignorant of the minor-key verses of his beloved regional poets (*TG*, 224—25 & *Conversaciones*, 69). Cernuda believed that the influence of Darío on writers like Reina, Gil and Rueda was either late or non-existent. Hence his postulation, which this study endorses, of 'una coincidencia en el tiempo de dos intenciones poéticas equivalentes, pero independientes una de otra, una americana y otra española' (*Estudios*, 61). Cernuda's assessment that *modernismo* (strictly speaking one particular strain of *modernismo*) was, in its early days, unrelated to Symbolism is well-founded (65—66). The genuine Symbolist aesthetic arrived much later. Any full study of Jiménez's allusive ex-

pression must therefore take account of other possible shaping features and literary forces within Spain. Jiménez once boldly claimed that 'a Machado y a mí nos correspondió iniciar lo interior en la poesía moderna nuestra' (*Conversaciones*, 106). Elsewhere in conversation with Gullón (and briefly elsewhere in his critical essays) he modified this to postulate an unbroken line of 'poesía interior' from Gil Vicente and San Juan de la Cruz through to Bécquer, Unamuno, Machado, and himself. In parallel with this current ran a more formal one that culminated in Parnassianism and Darío (132). There can be little doubt that by the late 1890s a number of trends and strains developed earlier had taken root. As we have seen, contemporary commentators had already noted 'un nuevo misticismo', the inward regard of art. This art was chronicled once more in the late 1890s with regard to Ricardo Gil in Zeda's reference to 'el mundo interior'⁶ and in an essay of Pío Baroja.

2. Pío Baroja

Even Baroja, usually unsympathetic to the new poetic trends, found this current sufficiently remarkable to record in his *Memorias* that '[a] la pereza, al alcoholismo, a la maldicencia y a la inutilidad para vivir malamente se unió el misticismo por el arte y ese rebeldía cósmica' (O. C., VII, 664). Baroja, whom Jiménez knew well, was an unusually perceptive witness of the subtle changes that literature was undergoing at the end of the century. He was one of the clearest and most explicit analysts of the new aspects diagnosed by González Serrano.⁷ In an essay entitled 'Hacia lo inconsciente' written in May 1899 (O. C., VII, 852—53), Baroja began from the premise that Science, like a sleek and robust cow, constantly marks the footsteps of Art, a bull, whose virility is waning. Art, to escape the fond affections of Science, seeks areas where it cannot be followed. Baroja's commentary deserves close examination for it underlines exactly the marked tendency in one sector of *modernista* utterance to turn inwards to probe the inner workings of the human mind and spirit; to seek meaning in areas where Science has not yet penetrated and demolished hallowed beliefs and consoling illusions; to make of the emotions and feelings discovered by the probing mind a basis for a new aesthetic and a value system. The emergence of such a thought complex in 1899 may explain in some further measure the reason why Jiménez found the poetry of Bécquer, Rosalía, Gil, Paso, Silva and others so attractive.

The intimate association in the literature of the *fin de siècle* of mysticism and spiritual anxiety had become by the late 1890s, as we have seen, a critical commonplace. This theme forms an ironic rider to Baroja's disquisition on the work of his contemporaries, touching, as it does, on the central paradox of one particular thought pattern of *modernismo de tono menor*. As I have argued with reference to Darío,⁸ so with other *modernistas* and Jiménez, the acute sensitivity to the secret processes of the universe sets the poet apart. In his loneliness he longs to comprehend the enigmas of existence. He also hopes for felicity and transcendence through the creative act. The paradox lies in the fact that when he questions those enigmas through art, the vision glimpsed cannot always be contemplated with equanimity. As for the Romantic Faustian figures, the search for the truth in the spiritual or transcendental world leads to a vision of death and nothingness. This is true for Jiménez. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that the anguished vision provided a vital stimulus to art. By the 1870s Spanish Romantic attitudinizing had given way to a more restrained and sober mood. It would be inappropriate here to consider the reasons for this shift of emphasis. One might mention in passing, however, two probable reasons: the legacy of the German Romantic writers and philosophers, and the enthusiasm for Musset and Lamartine. Ana Balakian has pointed to '[t]he desire for a more indirect form of verbal communication [which] was a literary aim shared by many mid-century writers, and it cannot be attributed exclusively to the Symbolist lineage (*op. cit.*, 57). In fact, the process had already begun in Spain.

3. Rosalía de Castro

In the prefaces to *Cantares gallegros* (1863) and *Follas Novas* (1880) Rosalía de Castro gave eloquent expression to the two major aspects of progressive Spanish poetry in the mid-Restoration period. These aspects were to crystallize in the dominant strain of Modernism and especially in Jiménez's earliest poetic achievement. In the latter prologue we find again the juxtaposition of spiritual unrest⁹ and *poesía de tono menor*.

Ay!, á tristeza, musa d'os nosos tempos, conóceme ben, . . . , non me deixa un momento, n'inda cando quero falar de tantas cousas com' andan hoxo n'ò aire e n'ò noso corazón. . . . N'ò aire andan d'abondo as cousas graves, . . . Nós somos arpa de soyo duas cordas: â imaxinación y ô sentimento; n'ò eterno panal que traballamos alá n'ò íntimo, solasmente se da mel, mais ou menos doce, . . . [N]unca tentey pasar os límites d'a simple poesía, qu'en-

contr' as veces n'un-ha expresión feliz, n'un-ha idea afertunada, aquela cousa sin nome que vai direita como frecha, traspasa as nosas carnes, fainos estremecer, e resona n'a alma dorida coma un outro jay! que responde â largo xemido que decote levantan en nos os dôres d'a terra. ... [T]entey falar d'as cousas que se poden chamar homildes. (O.C., 416—17, 419)

Díez-Canedo's assessment that 'Rosalía Castro (sic) ... inicia las nuevas formas'¹⁰, and his categorisation of Rosalía as a 'poeta maldito' (20) have been strikingly confirmed by D. L. Shaw (*History*, 103—10). Jiménez perceived the association of 'tristeza' and 'aquela cousa sin nome' in Rosalía and her fellow regionalist poets. In the accounts of his first contacts in the heady student days in Seville he gave witness to the profound effect that their verses had upon him (*TG*, 220, 224; *CI*, 65, 229—30). Jiménez felt attracted at the turn of the century to two particular models of poetic expression: that represented by Darío and associated *modernistas latinoamericanos* and that by those 'poetas del litoral, dialectales' and 'místicos' (*Mod*, 112). He also categorised his own art of the period 1898—1900 under four specific headings: *sentimental*, *colorista*, *anarquista* and *modernista* (*TG*, 222—23). The term *sentimental* could be applied here. If poems like 'Mis Demonios' (*PLP*, 1472), 'Ninfeas' (1467) and 'Tétrica' (1476) represent those other tendencies, those like 'Recuerdos ...' (1473), 'Almas de violeta' (1522), 'Otoñal' (1499) and 'El cementerio de los niños' (1528) would represent the *sentimental* strain. In many poems, alongside the most explicit and often over-enthusiastic manifestations of the *modernismo* of the Latin American writers we find an allusive style that, if not entirely foreign, is rare in their work. In 'Somnolenta' (*PLP*, 1476) in parallel with the obvious influence of Darío's rendering of the Ideal we find a setting of twilight, a landscape perceived through a shimmering veil of tears and mist. Nature is wrapped up in a silence that by contrast throws into relief the allusive and painful 'dulce ritmo armonioso de vaga amargura'. The sense of bitterness arises from the awareness of the finality of death and the irreparable separation that it brings. In 'Tarde gris' (1479) alongside the image of a gigantic dying sun, reminiscent of Freyre and Díaz, we find an allusive scene in which is enacted a highly charged emotional interlude between the poet and the beloved. 'Otoñal' (1499), too, has similar elements: sunset, mists, 'vaho flotante ... con giros inciertos, / tomando figuras extrañas / que ya se acercaban o se iban huyendo' and the strained and tense lover's exchanges. Here the poet can only see the world and his beloved in terms of an all-devouring death.¹¹ These images and moods recall the allusive style of Bécquer, albeit contaminated by the more

florid imagery of the Latin Americans and echoes of Poe. In *Almas de violeta* however, Jiménez attempted to collect together a group of poems which, if not entirely freed from these influences, show a more than passing echo of earlier Spanish poets.

The prefatory poem of *Almas de violeta* (PLP, 1521) introduces the dominant themes of the collection: the sadness at the loss of former loves through death or separation and the loss of illusion. While we find the intrusive influence of Villasespina here, as elsewhere, the overall feeling recalls the poignant despair of Rosalía de Castro. The heightened contrast in this poem, and more specifically elsewhere, between past happiness and present spiritual suffering is also typical of Espronceda. Its form of expression, however, is indebted to the poetry of some twenty years later. 'Triste' (1529), for example, has resonances of many of Rosalía's shorter poems. The brilliant light effects, the beauty of nature and the caressing breeze, vividly recalling the poet's former 'blancas dichas', form an ironic contrast with the present. The 'casita de campo' is the symbolic link with the past. The cottage is the same but the poet's spiritual state has altered. Like the hidden garden that Antonio Machado took from Verlaine's 'Après trois ans' (*Poèmes Saturniens*) this motif is sustained throughout the poem as a measure of the poet's despair. There is, however, an echo of Rosalía's 'O pazo d'A . . .' both in terms of the contrasts as well as in terms of the expressive interjections (see O. C., 443—44 & 448). The details, even down to the *hiel* both poets feel, are too alike for the similarities to be coincidental. The equally persistent theme of the loss of childhood illusion in 'Remembranzas' (PLP, 1525) on the return to his home as a grown man is, again, a Romantic one. This is especially true of the Larran motif of 'me pareció un cementerio' and the Esproncedan '¡Quién de nuevo pudiera / encerrar el pensamiento / en su cárcel de la ignorancia!' Apart from these echoes of Romantic disillusionment, the restrained evocation of loss and its attendant pain is more akin to Rosalía's poems dedicated to Padrón. The opening poem of the cycle seems to have been particularly influential.

Aqueles risas sin fin

...

... ¿por qué acabou?

...

Todo é silencio mudo

soidá, pavor, ond, outro tempo a dicha

sola reinou . . .

(O. C., 450 & cf. 580)

The theme of lost love through the death of the beloved is central to

Jiménez's spiritual problem. The mingled motifs of present sadness in contrast to the joy of springtime, the memories of the moment of the beloved's death, springtime growth beside thoughts of death's finality and corruption, and the persistent image of the cemetery, form an amalgam of motifs and moods dominant in Rosalía de Castro's work. One might compare the painful evocation of death's separation and the parallelistic structure of the reactions of those left behind to mourn in 'Era apacible el día' of *En las orillas del Sar*. The thought that spring's hope for regeneration cannot allay man's sadness or console his loss forms a leitmotif in the finest verses of Rosalía de Castro. It reappears in the early verses of Juan Ramón and, incidentally, those of Antonio Machado in whose collections the voice of Castro is also to be heard. One might say that both poets felt the spiritual vibrations in a line like

Frío y calor, otoño y primavera. (586)

Even the evocation of the mute memorial to death's sway, the cemetery, came from Rosalía's introductory poem to 'Da terra' in *Follas novas*. The many descriptions of the *camposanto* are designed to distance the physical and metaphysical shock of death's presence. The setting of 'El cementerio de los niños' and similar pieces, apparently inspired in the verses of the *gallega*, were probably suggested by 'De Galicia os cimiterios' (500) (see *TG*, 221). Both poets hide behind an illusion, a vital lie that is as transparently fragile as it is sentimentally euphemistic. The measure of their despair concerning the problem of death can be gauged from the precarious nature of the proposition that loved ones are not dead but merely sleeping, a commonplace in the nineteenth century all over Europe. Death was the major preoccupation that was ritualised, celebrated with all due seriousness and made familiar by its public display, especially by the Symbolist painters. For the spiritually uncertain like Rosalía and Juan Ramón such an accommodation could only be temporary. They attempt to draw the sting of death by turning it into a blissful sleep or a love embrace. Elsewhere it brings an 'anhelo poético' which brings a sense of prestige and of aesthetic superiority in the true Romantic vein (*LPr*, 1206 & 1210).

One should not overlook the fact, however, that poems like 'Elegíaca' (1537) and '¡Silencio!' (1530) may well have been inspired in Bécquer's equally famous '¡Dios mío, qué solos / se quedan los muertos!' and the *rimas* preoccupied with death. In the same way the sound of distant bells, the emphasis on atmosphere, mistiness, blurred outlines and a lachrymose mood, often ambiguously expressed by Rosalía as,

Eu levo un-ha pena
 gardad n'ó peito,
 eu lévoa, e non sabe
 ninguén por qué á levo, (539)

is to be a theme taken up again in Jiménez's next collection, *Rimas*. These motifs belong to a tradition established by Rosalía, Bécquer, Ferrán and the poets of the *ambiente prebecqueriano* of the 1860s rather than to any one particular writer.

4. Manuel Curros Enríquez

In an article 'Escuchando el "Nouturnio"' dated 29 March 1908 in Curros Enríquez's literary obituary, Segismundo Moret briefly appraised the outstanding poetic qualities of the *gallego* in *Aires d'a miña terra* (1880). He pointed to the evocation of a misty evening, the calm of twilight, the sounds of nature, the peal of distant bells, a dominant melancholia and a hint of 'algo que nuestro espíritu ignora (O. C., 897—91). In 'Nouturnio' specifically, we find, as in Rosalía de Castro, the identical motif of present calm that evokes the memory of past calm and the contrasting irreparable desolation that has overthrown former happiness. These themes clearly attracted Jiménez. In 'Los que influyeron en mí' he claimed they were crucial to his early development (TG, 229—33). It is probable that many of the poems in *Almas de violeta* were written between 1895 and 1899 (CI, 230). His translation of '¡Ay!', was pertinent to his own experience at this time. '¡Ay!' relates the poignant death of a child and the mother's reaction. 'Mi poema está publicado en *Almas de violeta*, y luego *corregido y aumentado*, en *Rimas* (CI, 233). This, of course, is untrue. The translation was probably published in a provincial newspaper. 'Cuando yo leí este poema de Curros Enríquez, y la muerte de una amigueta mía de difteria, yo dije también: 'ahogóla la blanca difteria, o algo así' (CI, 233). This translation clearly belongs to the cycle on the death of the young woman, whose death is recalled in terms of '¡Ay!', in poems like 'Tristeza primaveral' (1524), 'Nívea' (1527), 'Triste' (1529), '¡Silencio!'¹² (1530) and 'Elegíaca' (1537). The theme of personal loss of 'N'a morte de miña nai' (61), the sense of impotence before death and the plaintive '¡ay! si souperas cómo me deixabas . . . , non te morerás' (61) reappears in Jiménez's 'Cantares' (1535) and 'Tristeza primaveral'. Just as the overall feeling of melancholy, mirrored by grey skies, *brétema*, tears and nostalgia for happier times are dominant themes

in Galician verse in the nineteenth century, so they are expressed by Curros Enríquez. The repeated cry that 'pra min no hai mayo, / pra min sempre é inverno . . .' of 'O mayo' (57), so reminiscent of his countrywoman, is glossed by Juan Ramón's 'Hoy que mi alma está tétrica y sola, / que no trae suspiros la brisa' (1521), '¡Tengo una tristeza / dentro de mi alma . . .' (1524); 'Con la alegría del campo / no se curó mi alegría . . ., / . . . / y mi corazón lloraba, y sentía que mi pecho / estaba helado y vacío' (1532).

In Bécquer and Curros Enríquez is to be found a mixture of the supernatural, the religious, the dream state, folklore, and the sentimental theme of lovers' separation. These themes form the *fondo* to *Almas de violeta* and reappear in *Rimas*. The persistence of their influence on Jiménez gives some measure of the power that they exercised over him. In conclusion, one might mention one further dominant motif. The love principle in Spanish Romantic and much post-romantic literature is asserted, at one and the same time, as both an illusion and the only vital ideal. Once that illusion is outlived or is broken by death, the hold on life is broken. Even Bécquer was not so far out of his time as to be an exception. His *rima* XVII is a statement of the intimate relation in Romantic literature between emotional fulfilment and metaphysical consolation. Unable to explain the enigma of death and perceiving at the centre of existence a terrifying void the Romantics attached to love an existential importance. When love ceases to be possible despair and death supervene. D. L. Shaw's observation that 'after the intellectualization of the Romantic dilemma [by the 1880s] such a response was no longer possible. . . . [O]nly an intellectually convincing answer will now meet the case'¹³, makes Jiménez's reiteration of the Romantic theme in 'Azul' (*PLP*, 1528) all the more surprising. The lines

Ya estoy alegre y tranquilo;
¡sé que mi virgen me adora!

is an almost exact repetition of Bécquer's *rima*. Indeed, one of the striking features of the early work of Jiménez, as with that of his Modernist associates, is the recessive nature of their expression. Yet Jiménez was, after an initial phase of *romanticismo rezagado*, to develop his art beyond such posturing and attitudinizing. He was to develop not only a personal voice, but, more fundamentally, to open up new channels of expression in Spanish poetry which were, ultimately, to alter the course of Spanish literary history. His regard for the Galician poets, 'el divino Gustavo Adolfo' and a group of poets

of the latter years of the century, formed a crucial part of that early experience and helped pave the way to the new direction that *Arias tristes* was to herald.

There is one other minor regional poet who should not be overlooked. In *El Modernismo* and elsewhere Jiménez noted his name with affection and approval and included one of his poems in the anthology of Modernist and pre-Modernist poetry appended to the lecture course. In terms of the general *ambiente* which Jiménez inherited it could be argued that Vicente Medina also played a modest role: 'Vicente Medina, que acababa de revelarse, con pase crítico de Azorín, . . . en el semanario *Madrid Cómico*, y cuya siempre maravillosa "Cansera" me sabía yo de memoria' (*Mod*, 54—55, 66 and *CI*, 230). In this poem we find the now familiar mood of desolation and hopelessness in the face of an apparently motiveless and unmerited destruction of man's labours by a capricious Nature movingly evoked in the muted anguish of 'Anda tú, si quieres, / que a mí no me quea / ni un soplo d' aliento, / ni una onza de fuerza, / ni ganas de verme, / ni de que me mienten, siquía, la cosecha . . . / . . . / No he d' ir, por mi gusto, si en crus me lo ruegas, por esa sendica por ande se fueron, / pa no volver nunca, tantas cosa buenas . . . / esperanzas, quereres, suores, . . . / ¡to se fue por ella! / . . . / Por esa sendica se fue la alegría . . . / ¡por esa sendica vinieron las penas! . . . / . . . / ¡Tengo una cansera! . . .'. We have here, in brief, all the elements of that mood of spiritual emptiness and exhaustion that forms a central theme of the work of the writers discussed here. We have in their work, too, an authentic voice of personal experience at the level of the family, at the level of the *pueblo* and at the level of the nation. As such it might have been read as an expression of the anguish of the 'soul of Spain' which was to form a central theme of the Generation of 1898 and to a less obvious extent in the work of *modernistas* like Jiménez's friend José Sánchez Rodríguez. We shall see, in the final chapter, how closely allied the apparently distinct movements are.

Juan Ramón also read and translated Jacint Verdaguer's *Idil·lis i cants místics* which had a strongly emotional cast in its spirituality and blended together successfully the allusive, the popular, the *feeling* of religion and the desire for spiritual fulfilment. Verdaguer's 'anyorança', 'volada de l'ànima' and the recollections of childhood illusion by contrast with present experience all recall the central themes employed in Jiménez's early work.

5. Ricardo Gil

Another writer who played no small part in this was Ricardo Gil. It is unnecessary to rehearse the arguments already made in my edition of *La caja de música* concerning Gil's role as a tentative innovator and a poet who initiated what might be deemed a truly native strain of *modernismo*.

G. A. Cesáreo had noted of Gil in *La nueva antología* (Madrid 1886), a year after the publication of his first, and historically important, collection *De los quince a los treinta*, that 'la delicadeza y la elegancia son la nota más característica que encontramos . . . Es Gil un amante de los sonidos más tenues y delicados . . .' (223—24). Narciso Alonso Cortés was probably the first to recognise the historical importance of Gil when he referred to his 'delicada sencillez de afectos' and noted of Gil's reaction to *dolor* that 'no se deja arrastrar, como los románticos, por la desesperación o el menosprecio de la vida, sino que gusta solamente de expresar su estado de ánimo con apacible resignación'.¹⁴ This underlines the central literary phenomenon of the progressive literature of the 1890s: that renewed search for inner harmony and poetic nuances as a reaction to systematic pessimism and Romantic attitudinizing. That task had been left incomplete by the untimely deaths of Bécquer and Rosalía de Castro. It was taken up by Gil and was to be completed by Juan Ramón Jiménez. In Gil we find the same search for poetic nuances, the same belief in the spiritual consolation of Art and, at the very centre, the same awareness of a deep and fearsome vision. *De los quince* is an important document in that it contains one of the earliest expressions of that reaction which forms the centre of *modernista* aesthetics: the worship of Art, not simply, as we have seen, as Art for Art's sake, but as a beguilement. Darío's 'y si hubo áspera hiel en mi existencia, / melificó toda acritud el Arte' is one of the clearest expressions of this feature. Yet in 1885 Gil had already prescribed this metaphysical antidote. In 'Invitación', above all others in *De los quince*, Gil sets out the guidelines for such an aesthetic mode. Jiménez's comments on Gil¹⁵ echo the diagnoses of the literary commentators of the Restoration, especially with regard to personal sincerity in art. In conversation on 19 September 1915 Jiménez's Boswell recalled that

[h]ablando del poeta murciano Ricardo Gil me ha dicho que para él valía más que Núñez de Arce y todos los de esa época, y que estos poemas íntimos . . . valían por todas las poesías de Selgas. Cree que en arte y en poesía lo que tiene más valor es la sinceridad. Cada poeta tiene que decir *lo suyo*, y sabiéndolo decir, esto es lo que más vale. Consejos, ninguno, no sirven de nada; lo que sirve es la propia experiencia'. (*Viva voz*, 40)

In 'Invitación' Gil emphasises the modesty of his aims and disclaims exalted pretensions. Besides the emphasis on subtle tones and muted colours, Gil's art has two other interesting qualities. In 'Morte morieris' (79) or 'Vió que todo era bueno' (103), (which anticipates the scepticism of Darío's 'Anágke' [*Azul* . . .] by at least two years), Gil was affected by the extensive spiritual malaise of his age. He manifests the classic *modernista* response to the problem: art as consolation. The expression of the theme, however, fundamentally differs from Reina and Darío. Gil's art does not bring joy, colour, exotic worlds or green-eyed nymphs with complaisant kisses. While his art 'disipa en un instante / todo amagor del labio' (anticipating Darío's 'melificó toda acritud el Arte' by eleven years) and 'grato calor al corazón envía' the consolation of art instils an introspective mood. '[E]ngendra, no ruidosas carcajadas, / dulce melancolía' (4). His wine, in 'Invitación', brings not the intoxication of *paradis artificiels* but 'alivio a tu cansancio'. Other poems, while looking back to the traditions of Selgas and Campoamor, indicate that a fundamental step forward had been made. The poet looks inwards to his own experience. He sentimentalises the humble and pathetic aspects of life, lyricises pain, death and deformity. He seeks not rational knowledge but sensual and psychological self-awareness as moods and feelings are explored and contemplated. A predominant theme is the melancholy spectre of inevitable death and decay and the transience of all things. These are the characteristic features of this collection and *La caja de música* which followed in 1898. Their sincerity and restrained suggestive tone carries on the tradition of Bécquer and Rosalía. The question of direct influence is all too often contentious. There are echoes of Gil's poems in those of Juan Ramón. The sentimental belief that dead children become stars in 'Las estrellas errantes' (*De los quince*) may have provided a model for 'Melancólica' (*PLP*, 1503). Yet Juan Ramón would have found the idea in the poems of Poe who may have been the common source. Similarly the treatment of the death of a child in the same poem recalls Rosalía de Castro, Curros Enríquez and Verdaguer. '¡Para siempre!' in *La caja de música*, where love transcends the grave, may have inspired 'Mi ofrenda' (*PLP*, 1483), although there are other possible sources: Bécquer's *rima* XXVII, Coppée's 'Afin de louer mieux vos charmes endormeurs' or Mendès' 'Lassitude'. The point is that, questions of influence apart, two specific features cannot be disputed. First Jiménez was employing almost identical motifs and themes. Second, Gil prepared the ground for Juan Ramón. Gil's 'Sola y triste . . . ¡qué triste y qué sola se encuentra tu alma!' in 'La una de la noche',

(*De los quince*) is the central sentiment which formed a dynamic for Jiménez's poetry on his return from France in the autumn of 1901. The same holds true for the impact made on Juan Ramón by his contact with three other poets of the last years of the century: Manuel Paso, José Asunción Silva and Francisco A. de Icaza. In all three poets we find the same pattern: the search for introspective nuances accompanied by anguished insight.

6. José Asunción Silva

It is not surprising that González Serrano and others should associate the two themes of *misticismo* and *angustia metafísica* given its persistent appearance in the poetry of the 1880s and 1890s. It was probably Unamuno who was the first critic to touch squarely on this aspect with regard to Silva. Unamuno praised Silva's intimate, reticent style and his originality of expression.¹⁶ But his major critical efforts were directed to highlighting Silva's vital outlook. Unamuno, already deep in the toils himself, was in a privileged position to understand and sympathise with the unfortunate Silva. Simply put, 'murió del mal del siglo . . . Fue, en rigor, la tortura metafísica la que mató a Silva . . . [que] es un poeta metafísico'.¹⁷ D. Basdekis' assessment of Unamuno's attitude towards the *modernistas*¹⁸ has shown that it was not the 'guitarradas' and the tearful princesses of Rubén Darío which appealed but his 'eternas inquietudes del espíritu'. Similarly it was not Silva's influential 'artificios' but 'la obsesión del más allá de la tumba, el misterio de la muerte', the 'hambre de la eternidad' which attracted Unamuno. Jiménez's subsequent linking of Unamuno with *modernismo* and *poesía interior* may mark the recognition in a contemporary mind that the unifying feature of the age was the metaphysical problem and the common analysis of spiritual disquiet as one of the sundry avenues of escape from the problem. We shall return to this aspect in the concluding chapter.

Even a superficial reading of Silva's 'Los maderos de San Juan' (42), 'Poeta de paso' (66), 'Estrellas que entre el sombrío' (82), 'Psicopatía' (101), 'El mal del siglo' (118) and 'La respuesta de la tierra' (119) with its anguished '¿Qué somos? ¿A do vamos? ¿Por qué hasta aquí venimos?', would confirm Unamuno's analysis. The famous 'Nocturno' recited enthusiastically by the young poets of Spain and Latin America, and by Villaespesa in the faces of a bemused Madrid populace as he and Jiménez hurried on their way in the streets, had at its very centre

the chilling awareness of 'Era el frío del sepúlcro, era el frío de la muerte, / Era el frío de la nada . . .' (69). Unamuno's terse reply to the question '¿Qué hizo [Silva] en su vida? . . . Sufrir, soñar, cantar y meditar el misterio' soñó, murió' is also reminiscent of A. Bellogín's obituary to Gil, 'nació, soñó, murió'.¹⁹ It is also an accurate summary of Jiménez's life. There are not a few similarities between the two poets. Both were born of well-to-do families whose fortunes failed suddenly, both unexpectedly lost their fathers and the woman with whom they were in love (in Silva's case an incestuous love); both were interested in philosophy; both avidly read Romantic and Symbolist writers; both possessed a highly refined sensibility and lastly, both were chronic melancholics, a condition exacerbated by their awareness of the loss of a traditional view of existence.

Any study of Silva's impact in Spain must begin with Fogelquist's indispensable *Españoles de América y americanos de España* (Madrid 1968).²⁰ 'En la primera época de Juan Ramón Jiménez, la de *Ninfeas* y *Almas de violeta*, . . . se perciben ecos inconfundibles del 'Nocturno'. Sirvan de ejemplo algunos versos de *Ninfeas* . . . titulado 'Paisaje del corazón', que remedan el ritmo y hasta cierto punto el sentimiento del 'Nocturno' (282). Palau de Nemes has pointed to similarities of metrical arrangement.²¹ A cursory glance at Jiménez's own comments on Silva in *Españoles de tres mundos* would confirm that he has thoroughly digested both Silva's expression — 'poesía escrita casi no escrita, escrita en el aire con el dedo' — and the spiritual turmoil that vibrated at its centre. Whether he first heard the poems recited by Pedro González Blanco, close friend and impresario of Silva (*Conversaciones*, 53), or read them in one of the magazines given him by Villaespesa, by Darío or his sister²² the strong spiritual affinities between the two poets are clear. With hindsight Jiménez was to consider Silva's 'Nocturno' as the synthesis and fullest expression of what he considered to be an authentic *modernismo*.²³ It is in Silva's combination, (as in others considered above), of unhappy insight and an introspective art rather than in fortuitous coincidences of expression, diction, rhythms, metres or direct borrowings that Jiménez's real debt lies. A. Quijano Torres' essay in the *Unión Ibero-Americana* in July 1907 drew attention to the combination of spiritual unrest and allusive style, which restates almost exactly Silva's letter to Sanín Cano of 7 October 1894: his need to 'regar el jardín interior para no sentir tan intensamente el vacío de esta vida' (O.C., 434). In his verses he exclaims '¡Como es de dulce en horas de amargura / Dirigir al pasado la mirada / y evocar tus memorias!' Elsewhere he posits the belief that the man of acute sensi-

tivity can find consolation in casting his mind inwards towards memory, by probing and investigating the fleeting sensations of the mind and the 'móviles formas' and 'frágiles cosas' that make up the hidden enigma of life. Silva's 'la voz de las cosas', 'si aprisionaros pudiera el verso' poses afresh the dilemma of artistic sterility. Such is the substance of the 'Ofertorio' to *Ninfeas* for all the varnish of Reina and Darío. *Arias tristes*, too, has similar preoccupations. Silva, like the other poets considered here, lyricises death. His 'Notas perdidas' (156) may have provided yet another model for 'Elegíaca' and '¡Silencio!' (*PLP*, 1537 & 1530). Silva's aesthetic set out in 'Un poema', where he speaks of 'un arte nervioso y nuevo', has at its very centre Poe's theme of the death of a beautiful woman. Anguish and refined sensation. His poetic expressed in terms of 'luz vaga . . . hondas lágrimas . . . llenas de nieblas húmedas y melancolías . . . vagas sugestiones, sentimientos místicos', could be said to summarise at least one aspect of Jiménez's art at this time.

7. José Martí

On 17 February 1953 in a lecture on *Modernismo* Jiménez suggested a schema for the history of the development of poetic art in the nineteenth century beginning with Curros Enríquez and Rosalía de Castro and ending with Silva and Rubén Darío. In the centre of this minor key strain he placed José Martí. Jiménez consistently praises Martí for his remarkable style and the clarity and expressive power of his language. Jiménez's brief declaration on poetic expression in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule* is interesting in this light.

[L]a forma, si es hermana de la idea, ha de ser algo así como la idea misma, intangible, vaga, ha de ser sueño y aroma . . . Sobre la página tersa, debe brillar el verso, no como masa pesada de oro, sino como oro etéreo . . . El verso debe labrarse para su eterna duración, mas no en masa, sino en esencia . . . (*LPr*, 211)

An echo of Bécquer's declared aims for poetic nuance. Yet these lines directly echo a number of statements *à propos* of poetic art made by Martí over the period 1875—1882. Their echoes in the passages quoted indicate that Juan Ramón's art was to be the culmination of a trend rather than a fundamental revolution in Spanish letters. For all attempts by critics to see Jiménez's generation as initiators of a new movement — *modernismo* — the trends were already in process of germination. As early as 1875 Martí wrote that

El color tiene más cambiantes que la palabra, así como en la gradación de las expresiones de la belleza, el sonido tiene más variantes que el color. Como la belleza es la conformidad del espíritu con todo lo indescifrable, lo exquisito, lo inmedible y lo vago, lo bello se expresa mejor en tanto que tiene más extensión en que expresarse, menos trabas para producirse, más medios con que reflejar la abstracta necesidad, la mórbida concepción, las combinaciones tempestuosas o apacibles de esta presunción de lo venidero, religión de la soledad, propio hogar del hombre, que llamamos caprichosa fantasía.²⁴

These definitions, with their references to 'lo indescifrable', 'lo vago', 'religión de la soledad' echo Bécquer and à Kempis. This would make them doubly attractive. Two essays written in the year of Jiménez's birth and the following year more closely compare with the review of *La copa*.

Que la sencillez sea condición recomendable no quiere decir que se excluya del traje un elegante adorno. (20, 32—33, [1881])

El verso es perla. No han de ser los versos como la rosa centifolia toda llena de hojas, sino ... muy cargada de esencias ... Cada vasillo suyo ha de ser un vaso de aromas.

El verso, por donde quiera que se quiebre, ha de ser luz y perfume ... Pulir es bueno, *mas dentro de la mente* y antes de sacar el verso al labio.

(20, 66—67, [1882]. My emphasis)

Juan Ramón's poems and verses published in *Helios*, *Revista Nueva*, *El cojo ilustrado*, *Madrid Cómico* and *Renacimiento* in the period 1902—1907 vibrate with this allusive aesthetic compounded of music, perfume, flowers, and the shimmering interplay of light. In essence, an art, written as Bécquer had said, 'como el que copia de una página ya escrita; ... como el pintor que reproduce el paisaje que se dilata ante sus ojos y se pierde entre la bruma de los horizontes' (623). One of Jiménez's earliest experiments appears in the Villaspesa review.

Este amargor y esta sangre son un perfume ... El libro exhala efluvios de pesar como si fuera una rosa roja ...; y las hojas de esta rosa son también de perfume ...

Jiménez had learned the lessons as essays written in 1903 were to show (*LPr*, 75, 131—32).

8. Manuel Paso

In 1953 Jiménez commented to Ricardo Gullón that 'de ninguna manera se puede olvidar a Manuel Paso, pues su libro *Nieblas* es el eslabón intermedio entre nosotros y los poetas a quienes llamo precursores: Rosalía y Bécquer, (*Conversaciones*, 55). About the same period he noted of the late 1890s,

También leí a un poeta granadino, Manuel Paso, hoy injustamente olvidado. y de donde yo saqué mis 'lunas amarillas':

¡... la luna amarilla
se refleja en los campos desiertos'. (*CI*, 230)

But Jiménez found more than Impressionist 'lunas amarillas' in Paso's *Nieblas*. The 'Prólogo' states plainly that Paso's verses do not cry out in cosmic despair or with impassioned exclamation. Paso reacted against the grandiloquence of Espronceda or Núñez de Arce. His verses, while often bearing the imprint of Zorrilla's evocation of Moorish Spain, are expressed in a reflective and intimately subjective mode.

In both of the eponymous poems of the collection we find themes, motifs and diction that are irresistibly reminiscent of the autumnal evening mistiness of Jiménez's early poems. In the first 'Nieblas' Paso describes Rosa, the beloved, seated before her *casita*,

Lleno el pensamiento
De dulzuras vagas.
¡Las sombras del cielo caían!
La luna ... muy lejos
Entre gasas azules brotaba.

The poet also describes his own feelings:

Tristezas y dudas
Tenía en el alma
... ansioso de verla.²⁵

In the second 'Nieblas' the poet begins,

¡Ya pronto anochece!
¡Qué triste está el cielo!
El aire cimbrea
Los álamos secos;
Ya hay nieve en la cumbre del monte;
La luna amarilla
Se refleja en los campos desiertos! (43)

Here Paso cultivates a theme popular in the latter half of the nineteenth century: the comparison of the memory of past happiness and love and the pain of present loss through death. Thus the memory of the lover's misunderstanding:

¡No lloras! ¡No lloras!
...
Clava en mí tus ojos
Que miren serenos;
No me mires así ... de ese modo. (44)

Such lovers' exchanges are repeated in Jiménez's 'Tarde gris' (1479) and 'Paisaje del corazón' (1495), even down to the details of the setting of the conversation. Paso's poem ends on the present recognition that

¡Ya todo ha pasado
Como pasa un sueño;
.....!
¡Ya viene el invierno! (45)

This provokes an extended meditation on the last moments of the beloved and an attempt through communion with her to see beyond the veil of death. These themes and sentiments, as we have seen, share common ground with Jiménez's. One might argue that Juan Ramón's gloomy meditations on the death of the beloved echo Paso's 'Estrofa VIII'.

La tarde declinaba,
Algo sentí en el pecho,
Y detrás del cadáver
Silencioso marché.
Llegamos, y ya abierta
Se encontraba la fosa,
...
Y pálida ... ¡muy pálida!
Los labios como el lirio,
Y harapos sobre el pecho
¡Muy pálida también!
Los ojos ya sin lumbre
Hundidos y violados. (77)

This poem, like those of Jiménez on the same subject, has a diffused but nevertheless obvious necrophilic tendency. Thus again we have an association between a refined and subjective expression and a melancholic and sceptical view of the world in the face of the problem of death. As Joaquín Dicenta was to explain in the prologue

to the second and amplified posthumous edition of *Nieblas* (Madrid 1902), Paso's bohemian life and his deliberately chosen slow suicide through alcohol was the result of insight, *dolor* and the 'risa irónica del hombre escéptico'. A glance at the 'Estrofas' and the opening exclamation

¡Vano es luchar, las olas van y vienen,
Y venimos y vamos con las olas!

or the terse comment that,

¡Ya me es igual la vida que la muerte!
¡Es inútil luchar!

would confirm Dicenta's diagnosis and underline the common meta-physical sickness.

III. A FORMLESS AND UNCONSCIOUS POETRY

For all the possible sources of Jiménez's more personal poems expressing a diffuse nostalgia and despair, the reader is left with the nagging feeling that there is often a lack of sincerity, a sincerity which belongs to Rosalía de Castro especially. Some poems, for all the musical effects and the plaintive cries, seem in some measure to carry little conviction. As with the many Romantic writers whom Juan Ramón read, especially Lamartine and Musset, the forced pathos becomes all too often a stylised meditation on the theme of love, death and time. Intimate self-revelation suddenly becomes a histrionic display of the poet's feelings. Such an attitude is closely bound up with the *dandysme* of the 1840s and its gradual development down the century. Yet, although we feel uneasy about the anguished cries, not a few poems are saved by an insight into the nature of suffering and the manner in which the mind and the spirit respond to grief. This is a significant development. Jiménez not only initiates a step forward in poetic expression but also lays the foundations for the highly sophisticated and inward-looking art of the *Helios* period. It was the tender seeds of this tendency that were to be nurtured by Jiménez's contact with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, with the various doctors and psychiatrists whom he met in 1901—1902 (Lalanne, Simarro, Ramón y Cajal, Achúcarro) and with the more profound effect of the reading of Amiel, the German Idealists and other confessional writers. It achieved its culminating expression in *Arias tristes*.

While many poems (like those of Villaespesa) are designed not to define an experience but to incite an easy reaction, others are saved by the spell of the words and the subtlety of expression. This is true for example of 'Recuerdos . . .' (1473) which has echoes in its opening lines of Lamartine's 'Le Lac'. It may be that Jiménez was relying on a knowledge of that poem and that his own was to be a pendant to it. The success of the poem is in its understatement. Apart from the intrusive *modernista* 'el ígneo sol de Mayo' the poem volatilizes reality. Apart from the dying sun there is no detail to arrest the attention. The epithets are unoriginal, the images commonplace making little demand in our visual imagination. The poem has all the limpid expression of the commonplace that we associate with Lamartine, Mendès, Coppée or Sully Prudhomme. The reader is lulled into a mood of indolent receptivity. If the qualities seem negative, the charm of the poem must be explained in more positive terms. First the synaesthetic 'canción de luces suspirando' involves the reader's senses which are quickly ensnared in a silent enchantment where everything is lulled into a state of dream. Second, the rhythms which unevenly come and go seem to reflect not only the flowing tears of the lovers but parallel the lapping waves on the lake. They also underscore the agitation of the lover's breathing and the anxious questions that form the centre of the poem. Third, the refusal to answer the question save by a kiss, symbol of union, echoed by the 'quejido epitalámico' of the nightingale, itself echoing the *esdrújulo* 'eco languído', allows the imagination to reach onwards towards that reply that can only be suggested but not stated. The momentary threat of the enigma and the inner stirring of insight is thereby thrust out of ken by the lovers' embrace. Similar qualities are to be found in 'Paisaje del corazón' (PLP, 1495). This poem and 'Recuerdos . . .' seem less influenced by Silva's 'Nocturno' than by Verlaine's 'Nevermore'.

1. Popular Styles, Unpopular Poets

Musset and Coppée, along with Verlaine, were largely instrumental in revitalising old and popular metrical forms and *chansons*. The nineteenth century in Spain also saw a revival of interest in popular poetry and the emergence of not a few indefatigable collectors like Agustín Durán, Antonio de Trueba, Ferrán and, at the end of the century, scholars like Antonio Machado y Álvarez, Menéndez Pidal and Rodríguez Marín. If Antonio de Trueba could claim that he began the

fashion, Ventura Ruiz Aguilera's attempts to produce on the model of the *balada* a new form of essentially popular poetry deserves honourable mention. What is important in both of these writers is that, for all the deliberate moralising and affirming traditional ideals and assumptions, the first, like Bécquer, identified poetry with feeling in an article entitled 'Lo que es poesía' (1860), and the second introduced strongly sentimental themes in which he combined, as did Trueba, moralisation with everyday scenes of provincial life. D. L. Shaw has pointed to the popularity of Ruiz Aguilera with writers as distinguished as Rosalía de Castro and Giner de los Ríos who insisted on their use in the Institución Libre (*History*, 61). These writers, along with Selgas, (who deserves mention with them), paved the way for the verses of Rosalía and Gil. They form a part of the long development of the exploration of the poet's inner sensibility and the quest for a more sincere expression. The return to popular forms and a spontaneous expression culminated, of course, in Ferrán's *La soledad* (1860), the *Cantares gallegos* (1863) of Rosalía de Castro and Bécquer's *Rimas* (1871), written mainly in the early 1860s. Rosalía and Ferrán especially gloss popular lyrics and forsake conventional diction for the much more limited poetic possibilities of popular language. Beside a strong social preoccupation they introduce a strongly personal note which, because of the concise nature of the form, expresses intimate feelings in an allusive way.

Jiménez continues these developments in that his *cantares* show all the conventionality of earlier models. The 'que no despierta el niño' of '¡Silencio!' (1530) is essentially traditional.²⁶ The repeated strophes with terminal variations in the same poem, in '¡Solo!' (1531) or 'Triste' (1529) and the structured parallelism and catalogue show similar signs of the influence of popular forms and models. Ramón Menéndez Pidal's comment that '[e]l mismo año 1900, en que Menéndez Pelayo formulaba el desahucio de la tradición castellana, empezó a manifestarse su vitalidad'²⁷ could well have been coined for Juan Ramón. He was about to refurbish the ailing *romance* and the *cantar*, to synthesise traditional elements and the new developments in poetic diction and expression. Critics are wont to associate this with *modernismo*. Although Díaz-Plaja and Bernardo Gicovate might briefly dismiss the popular element in the early verses of Juan Ramón Jiménez, even a superficial glance at his work would show that this aspect and the tendency towards the cultivation of a *poesía de tono menor* bear all the seeds that are to germinate in Jiménez's next collections *Rimas* and *Arias tristes*.

2. *A Mexican Mentor and some Fantaisiste Frenchmen*

As early as 1892 an overweening Gómez Carrillo addressed himself to 'veinte o treinta espíritus cosmopolitas' who might read and understand his *Esquisses* (Madrid 1892). With all the self-importance of a man whose finger rested on the literary pulse of Paris he sneered at Spanish literary debates to introduce to his Spanish audience the latest artistic trends and names from the French capital. Among the many currents then developing in Paris he mentions 'el Psicologismo de Bourget' (9). Yet Alas had already introduced Baudelaire to the Spanish reading public in 1887, and in the same year had reservedly approved of the advent of vigorous new poetic currents in France. In *Apolo en Pafos* (Madrid 1887) he also made reference to 'pesimismo, . . . orientalismo panteístico o nihilista . . . preciosismos psicológicos de un Bourget, quietismos de un Amiel . . .' (85). The familiar association of scepticism and an introspective art. Alas' feeling that Spain's poetic genius was in decline, shared by many of the critical mandarins of the age, is difficult to understand. Clearly Campoamor's practical experiments (so far removed from the far-seeing modernity of his theories), the grandiloquence of Núñez de Arce and the slick epigrams of Manuel del Palacio were soon to lose all savour for palates who sought a more refined taste. The untimely death of Rosalía de Castro had brought a singular poetic experiment to an end. Gil was clearly too retiring to take up the cause left unfinished. In fact, *tonomenorismo* needed an impresario. Darío could not offer the 'cuerda intimista e interior' that Jiménez longed for and many others sought. By 1899 Rosalía, Paso and Silva were dead and Reina and Gil had fallen into silence. Yet there still remained another figure who, until recently, has been almost totally overlooked: Francisco A. de Icaza.²⁸ His role in carrying on their traditions was to be crucial. This Mexican, who virtually adopted Spain as his cultural home, should not be neglected in any full assessment of *modernismo de tono menor*. In 1886 Icaza came to Madrid. In 1892, having steeped himself in the gathering atmosphere of *intimismo*, he published his first collection *Efímeras* followed in 1899 with *Lejanías*.²⁹ The latter established his position as one of the mentors of the *Helios* brotherhood. In these collections we find those qualities that are to form the basis of *Arias tristes*, qualities described as 'un matiz crepuscular: esos tonos suaves y esas emociones directas . . . el aire de vagabunda tristeza, la sensibilidad exquisita'.³⁰ A judgement immediately applicable to Juan Ramón Jiménez. In *Efímeras* we find a poetry of transition; a poetry that naturalises into Spain the humble, faintly

prosaic and sentimental love situations of François Coppée, Sully Prudhomme and Catulle Mendès. Ricardo Gil had already attempted a similar process of naturalisation. Alongside this strain, as with Gil, there is the continuing influence of Bécquer and the reinvigoration of nuance with the impact of Verlaine. Indeed, in 'Estancias' we have a similar theme to Verlaine's 'Après trois ans' (*Poèmes Saturniens* [1866]). In 'De mis recuerdos' (1885) we find the motif of a love-encounter in a nocturnal garden accompanied by 'una música lejana, / Risas, cantos y lamentos' and the final awareness of time's inexorable flow: '¡Horas que pasáis de prisa, / Tornad el rápido vuelo!' (*E*, 25). The recognition of and preoccupation with the eroding forces of time and the restrained pessimistic reaction to its effects immediately recall one of the major preoccupations of the *Helios* group. The treatment of the theme is reminiscent of the early poetry of Jiménez and *Arias tristes* in particular.

The irreversibility of time inspires one of the earliest attempts in Spanish letters to find a way round the problem by non-rational means. In France Baudelaire had already exploited the artistic possibilities of recall in a poem like 'Le Flacon' (*Les Fleurs du mal* [1857]). Memory leads to spiritual insight, a vision of death and parted love. Musset had already associated memories and death in 'Lucie' where the pleasurable sadness of the lovers' tryst gives way to the poignant awareness of Lucie's death. Coppée was to take up the same theme in the 1860s, but to vary and extend the range of nuance. In 'Adagio' (*Le Reliquaire* [1866]) the poet hears the sound of the 'adagio de la sonate en la' played from a shuttered house by 'une musicienne mystérieuse' whose music evoked 'dans cette atmosphère émue, une douleur / Épanouie au charme ineffable et physique / Du silence,' until one day, the sound is no longer heard. Catulle Mendès took up the same idea ten years later in 'L'Absente' (*Soirs moroses*) and placed the poetic rêverie in a room filled with evening light. The *clavecin* and the clock bear witness to the absence of the beloved and to time's irreversible flow. Verlaine's 'Le piano que baise' belongs to the same pattern. Gil introduced the theme into Spain in 'Tristitia rerum' (*La caja de música*) although Coppée's poems had been translated into Spanish by C. Fernández-Shaw as early as 1887. Icaza was more specifically to prepare the way for the cultivation of the theme, which was to be the hallmark of the *Helios* group.³¹ In *Efímeras*, in the section significantly entitled 'Poemas íntimos', 'En tu ausencia' (1890) expresses the loneliness and sadness of the beloved's absence. As in Verlaine's 'Après trois ans' nothing has changed, yet somehow there is an indefinable feeling

that much has changed. Only memories are able to re-established contact with what has been irretrievably lost. Juan Ramón was to speak of 'el alma de las cosas'. The search for that ineffable essence was to absorb the energies of the *Helios* group. For Icaza, twenty years before, the rustle of a silk dress, the letter on the table, a pressed flower, a curl, a ribbon, are tokens that enshrine a spiritual essence that only the memory can grasp.

Y estas reliquias háblanme amorosas
De una vaga tristeza, en el lenguaje
En que se queja el alma de las cosas.

At the sound of the *clavecin* his thoughts rush backwards,

... Mi corazón se dilata
Cobra fuerzas mi espíritu enfermizo;
Abre sus alas, vuelve a lo pasado.
¡Siente el amor que tan feliz me hizo! (E, 127)

Love is thus protected from insult, from vulgar comment, from time itself. The loved one is present in the spiritual vibrations of the objects with which she was once associated.³² 'Póstuma' (1887) echoes and extends Bécquer's attempt to transcend temporal barriers in 'Si al mecer las azules campanillas'. Thus the Mexican addresses the one he loved to suggest that his 'llanto de amor' will live on after him (E, 75—76). It is the poetic act itself which allows the poet to transcend time to permit an expression of love or pain within time itself. The eternal nature of Art is implied here. In '¿Para qué?' (1891), in reply to the question as to why he writes given that glory and fame are vanities of illusion and that 'presente / Llevo en el alma que la astucia miente, / Que el odio acecha y que la envidia existe'³³, he states that he would rather feed on dreams than seek fame through letters. Yet the poem has been written, the belief that art and dreams can overcome insight and *angustia* affirmed.

Yo soy en mis dominios soberano:
Déjame con mis sueños, ... (E, 58)

In *Lejanías* published in 1899 these themes are developed. Prefiguring Machado's 'galerías del alma' Icaza suggests in 'Preludio' that 'También el alma tiene lejanías'. These lines anticipate the deeply introspective mood of the *Helios* brotherhood in 1903—1904. They also parallel Jiménez's melancholic poems concerning the 'alma, peregrina de los

nobles reinos de Oro', the 'alma soñadora' (*PLP*, 1465), the 'jardín melancólico de mi alma llorante' (1467) and the dream-like and visionary moments experienced by the poetic genius. Later in 'Preludio' Icaza wrote

En esos horizontes del olvido
La sujeción de la memoria pierdo,
Y no sé dónde empieza lo fingido
Y acaba lo real de mi recuerdo
En esos horizontes del olvido. (L, 11)

Some intuitive response perceives a continuance of spiritual elements and vital forces beyond decay. This anticipates the impact of Bergson in Spain, the ideas of Schlegel, Schelling, Richter and Novalis and the advances in science and psychology that the *Helios* group were to absorb and adapt to their art. Thus Jiménez's early collections are closely in tune with Icaza's chosen form of expression. The suggestive tone of 'Esfúmase en el pálido horizonte / Entre la niebla gris el caserío' (*E*, 23) and 'tus palabras cariñosas / Son música que llega a mis oídos / Con sugerencias de lejanas cosas, / De seres muertos y de amores idos' (*E*, 41) is immediately reminiscent of the Verlainesque mode that forms the background to the diffused spirituality and nostalgic longing of many of Juan Ramón's early experiments. Indeed, in 'Háblame' (*E*, 41), written in 1888, Icaza falls into a 'cataléptico letargo', reminiscent of the Decadence where he is awakened to 'dulces y armoniosas vibraciones'. This is subsequently paralleled in Jiménez's *Somnolenta* (1476) where at the visionary moment Jiménez exclaims

¡Ah! ¡deliro! ¡deliro...!

This ecstasy is re-echoed in the 'éxtasis de Oro' experienced in 'Tarde gris' (*PLP*, 1479). In 'Ofertorio' (1465) Jiménez's transcendental aesthetic dream, as elsewhere, cannot be uttered,

¡Lucha horrible la del alma sollozante que quería
retener en sus estrofas las cadencias encantadas...!

a reiteration of the lack of artistic powers that Bécquer had already voiced. Jiménez was precisely in concert with the revival of Bécquerian aesthetics that Icaza, like Gil and Paso, had already undertaken. Icaza's 'Espíritu y forma' (*E*, 44) is an obvious echo of the struggle that Bécquer records in *rimas* III and V. A more intimate note, however, is struck in the poem 'En voz baja' when Icaza exclaims:

¡Ay, si fuesen mis estrofas
 De las que llegan al alma!
 De las que una vez oídas
 En la memoria se graban
 Y en el corazón encuentran
 Misteriosas resonancias,
 Porque despiertan recuerdos. (E, 47)

This poem expresses all the homely, slightly prosaic and domestic intimacies of the *Fantaisistes*. It marks a transitional phase where Bécquer's aesthetics and the interest in the poor, the starving and the underprivileged of Ruiz Aguilera or Querol were to blend together. The two strains were synthesised in Jiménez's sentimental prose poems in *Helios*. The attempt to pursue 'feeling' — 'misteriosas resonancias' — in the heart itself marks, of course, another step in the development of *poesía interior*. It should be clear by now that Jiménez was a leading experimentalist and exponent of this vein. Hence the importance of his poetic mentors. In 'Vibraciones' (1890) Icaza looked for an ideal poetic form:

Toda estrofa será noble y tierna
 Cuando el labio al decirla entreabras:
Vibrará con la música interna
Que tu acento las da a las palabras. (E, 51. My emphasis)

When Juan Ramón expressed his *credo poético* in the review of Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* he might well have had Icaza's 'Himno y lira' (1893) in mind. What Icaza desires are words with a vibrancy of inner expressive power, especially, as for Bécquer, when they are on the lips of a beautiful woman. Jiménez, too, was to associate poetry, beauty, woman, perfume, and music. Jiménez's poetic diction which employed terms like *aroma*, *esencia*, *perfume* or the volatile ethereal forms wreathed in misty outlines of *Ninfeas* is redolent of 'En derredor' (1898).

¡Átomos de mi espíritu dispersos!
 ...
 En el aire flotáis como el perfume
 De algo que fue el aroma de la vida:
 ¡De ese algo que se esparce y se consume
 En cada amor pasado que se olvida,
 En el aire flotáis como el perfume ...! (L, 25)

The insistence on the inexpressible elements of feeling and emotion in love-encounters, and the ineffable bonds of affection persisting in

memory after parting or death, are as much a part of Jiménez's early verses as they are of Icaza, Gil or Verlaine. Jiménez's sympathy for Verlaine would certainly have extended to Icaza who evoked a Castilian mode of *romance sans paroles* in 1896:

Los versos que me inspiraste
son poemas sin palabras. 'Tus versos' (L, 71)

3. *Le Pauvre Lélian*

The many coincidences between Jiménez's themes and expression and those of Gil, Icaza and others may be explained in two ways. It may be that having read Verlaine and having understood his techniques Jiménez was the more receptive to those poets who seemed to offer Castilian poetic equivalents. On the other hand these pre-Modernists might have prepared Jiménez's taste for the Frenchman. It is clear, whatever the explanation, that the climate was propitious for the naturalisation of Verlaine's techniques in Spain. It is also equally clear that *Arias tristes* and Manuel Machado's *Alma* are the high-water mark of the influence of *Pauvre Lélian* in Spanish literature. It would be mistaken to assume, however, that the acquaintance with Verlaine's works took place during the sojourn in France. It may be that the first-hand contact with the French literary scene deepened Jiménez's sensitivity to Verlaine's poetry. There can be no doubt that he had already begun the process of acculturation before September 1900. He was to make the point clearly enough in conversation with Gullón.

Cuidado. Nosotros leíamos a Verlaine antes que lo leyera Darío. ... En nosotros, en los Machado y en mí, los simbolistas influyeron antes que en Darío. Los Machado lo leyeron cuando su estancia en Francia, y yo le presté a Darío libros de Verlaine que él aún no conocía. ... Todos nosotros leíamos a parnasianos y simbolistas. De éstos el primer Verlaine. ... Me educué con Verlaine, que fue, junto con Bécquer, el poeta que más influyó sobre mí, en el primer momento. ... *El choix de poèmes* de Verlaine lo sabía yo — y lo sabía Antonio Machado — de memoria. (*Conversaciones*, 56, 94 and 100)

We have observed something of the contact with writers like Mendès, Coppée, Prudhomme, Samain, Gautier and Baudelaire. We can be a little more precise concerning the relationship with 'el pobre Verlaine'. First and most obvious is the coincidence between Jiménez's view of the artist and Verlaine's 'poète saturnien'. Jiménez and Verlaine alike would have accepted the description of the latter in Darío's *Los raros*

as 'un viviente símbolo de la grandeza angélica y de la miseria humana'. Similarly the combination of sensual and spiritual impulses clearly attracted Jiménez as much as they did Darío. We can also discover common themes and devices. The title of 'Paisaje del corazón' immediately recalls Verlaine's 'Votre âme est un paysage choisi' of 'Clair de lune' and the metaphor of the *paysage d'âme* which was to become a Symbolist commonplace. As such the *décor* of autumn parks, mists, falling leaves, rain-washed landscapes, the 'cielo blanquecino', 'el campo inundado de tristeza', the 'frío, bruma sombra' are measures of the poet's sadness. By 1895—1900 these elements had become dated literary practice in France. In Spain, however, they still retained an originality and freshness. Jiménez, along with others like Gil and Icaza, must therefore be counted as innovators.

But Jiménez was to understand the subtlety of Verlaine's techniques more thoroughly than most. Many were to borrow the stylo-technical devices and to imitate perfectly the musical effects and mood of Verlaine, others his melancholy landscapes. Jiménez went further in the process of acculturation.

We have seen that Verlaine, Gil, Icaza and Juan Ramón find a subtle and evanescent poetry in objects, scents sounds and sentimental occasions. An aesthetic based on the apprehension of such 'essences' began, of course, with Poe's famous statement concerning the nature of poetry in *The Poetic Principle* and Schlegel's disquisition on poetic essence. Handed on to the *fin de siècle* by the Krausists this idea was to become a powerful shaping force in Modernist aesthetics. Poetry was not merely a formal problem but the expression of a mysterious essence which is to be 'felt' or 'intuited' in the touch of a beloved's hand, a sigh, in the sight of an old man and young children in a park, a nun walking in a garden, a child sleeping, a hungry waif. Such themes are central to the prose poems published in *Helios* although Jiménez had already begun to cultivate them well before his journey to France.

In 'Las niñas'³⁴ Jiménez weaves together the motifs of flowers, death, beauty, sentimentality, sensuality, and a nervous spirituality into a picture reminiscent of the *fin de siècle* book illustrators and painters: Rackham, Mucha, Greenaway, Dulac. Yet beneath the garland of Decadent synaesthesia there lies an attempt to capture a fleeting essence of the beauty of young girls in death. Like his mentors he cannot express what is inexpressible — 'Yo no sé la canción de las niñas' — but 'ellas son, sin saberlo, la vida'. Amid the energetic growth of spring he can capture an intimation of their spiritual presence in the beauty of nature about him:

Unas niñas creyéronse lirios,
otros cantos, colores y brisas,
.....

sólo sé que, al bajar de lo eterno,
ellas son en las verdes campiñas
el epílogo azul del invierno.

Sólo sé que son almas de rosas,
que bajaron del cielo cantando ...

The emphasis on perfume, music, air, feelings, thought, sighs, dreaming and the spiritualisation of the flesh — 'las almas ... a las carnes darán flor de alma' — heightens the allusive nature of the poetic expression towards that inexpressible goal of essence itself. The affirmation of life beyond death and the longing for essences which cannot be captured mirror one another in that both are impossible. The poet's task is to make that impossibility a reality through art.

... ¡Quién fuera
el cantor que a los sueños pudiera
arrancar la canción más fragante!

Such an aesthetic, which Jiménez was to take up more seriously two years later when he had begun to study the German Idealists and the German Romantics, had already been defined in 1894 by Icaza in 'El bastón' (*L*, 101) as a 'poesía sutil de las cosas' and forms the central dynamic of Verlaine's 'Après trois ans'.

Yet how was it achieved in terms of style? Jiménez moves hesitantly towards the procedure he is to cultivate more successfully in *Arias tristes* where the Romantic emphasis on the experiencing 'I' is reduced. This is indicated in the importance Jiménez attached to the verb as an expression of passivity rather than activity and, thus, to a reduction of the area of focus on the experiencing subject. In the first two collections we find the earliest signs of the genuine impact of Verlaine's style. In 'Triste' (*PLP*, 1529) he diminishes the importance of the human presence in the poem by exploiting the metaphoric value of verbs as personification. The presence of the poet is introduced not so much by nouns and pronouns as by the sensations and feelings implicit in the verbs. His choice of verbs emphasises the sense experience and especially the visual sense. But another sense, that of touch or 'embrace', is implied with the visual apprehension of 'la casita del campo' just as the sight of the piano which glows in the 'soir rose et gris' of 'Le piano que baise' leads to the awareness of 'embrace' of music and the hand which 'kisses' the keyboard. In 'Triste' the light

effects seem to caress and embrace the 'casita' and by implication the poet. 'Veo' leads to 'envuelve' and 'relumbra . . . engarzado'. In 'Somnolenta' (PLP, 1476) the emphasis is again on visual effects which are dissolved in the mist of evening and the mist of the poet's tears. In the poem the 'adverbs' — 'taciturno prosigo', 'allá lejos . . . está', 'ligeramente se mueve', 'se aleja llorando' — underline the force of adjectives like 'triste, dormido, doliente, perdido, vaga', in contributing to the mood of suggestiveness and uncertainty of outline. But they are also meant to focus attention on the verbal action rather than on nominal forms. The verb permits the mingling of tenses which in its turn blurs both spatial references and temporal references. In 'Tristeza primaveral' (PLP, 1524) we find a mingling of all three tenses as in 'Triste' past and present and an implied bleak future are fused. The lack of precision concerning the temporal context joins the sharpness of the present sensation with the vagueness of memory. This is not meant to detract from the significance of what the poet wishes to convey by means of verbal forms for they are the medium for expressing the poet's mingled feelings and sensations. The tendency to employ reflexive and intransitive verbs also loosens the tie between the subject of the verb and its object to focus it in upon itself. Often the verbal element is disguised in unusual participial forms: 'alma sollozante', 'recuerdo doliente', 'alma llorante', 'palabras gimientes', 'resplandores humeantes', 'Flor embriagante', 'oliente nube de blanco incienso', 'ojos murientes'. These verbal forms are, of course, related to the Decadent desire for an 'artificial' language expressed by Gautier, Baudelaire and Verlaine himself. Yet, like their normal adjectival and adverbial equivalents in the poetry of Verlaine, they serve to modify and obscure. Because of their unusual form and perversity of choice the reader's attention is directed from the noun which they are designed to qualify. They underline not so much the noun but the feeling and the sensation which the poet is attempting to suggest. Not the memory but the poet's tears, not the beloved's words but the anguish she expresses, not the airy wreaths of white incense but the heavy smell. R. S. King has demonstrated in his sensitive study of 'Verlaine's Verbal Sensation', (*Studies in Philology*, LXXII [1975], 226—36) that Verlaine has fused the skill of expressive verbal manipulation and the function of the verb as the significant conveyor of feeling and sensation.

The present discussion is based on the approach set out in this paper and the present author is indebted to it. King's arguments hold true, although more hesitantly, for Jiménez's early collections. 'Recuerdos . . .' (PLP, 1473), 'Siempre viva' (1493), 'Triste' and 'Melancólica'

(1503) show a marked tendency to reduce the importance of the experiencing subject, the 'I' of the poem. In the latter the 'I' is not mentioned although it is evident that he is present. In the first, the 'I' is concealed in the plural form 'íbamos' and is only specifically mentioned in 'miré'. In all other cases when the 'I' does occur it is expressed obliquely by means of the pronoun 'me'. 'Siempreviva' has only two oblique references: 'mi pálida virgen', 'Alma mía'. In these poems, and even in the more explicit allusions to the 'yo' in 'Triste', the subject 'yo-poeta' is clearly not the principal focus of interest. We have no additional information concerning his identity, psychology, motivation or personality. While the poet's presence is concealed it is evident that it is he who experiences the various sensations alluded to: seeing, hearing or smelling. Because the poet's identity is, as it were, 'dissolved' or concealed by the use of oblique reference the passivity of the poet is stressed. Emphasis is passed from the active experience of the 'I' to the sensation which is being produced. Any number of poems begin with an explicit reference to the 'yo-poeta'. The usual pattern, however, is to suggest a landscape (generally in terms of the Verlainesque commonplace of parks shrouded in mist on an autumnal evening) and to introduce a sound, a falling star, a powerful scent or a strange visual sensation. In 'Recuerdos ...', for example, as in Verlaine's 'En sourdine' and 'Colloque sentimentale', the nightingale forms an integral part of the poetic atmosphere and performs the same function in the poem. The emphasis on sense perception induces a state of introspection and reflection. This brings about a fusion of the physical external world and the inner world of reverie, sensation and feeling. The implication is that the 'yo' does not perceive actively but is the passive receiver of external stimuli via the senses. He is like the 'siempreviva' in the poem of that title. In 'Paisaje del corazón' (1495) the sight of the 'cielo blanquecino', the sound of the beloved's 'llanto' and the allusion to a previous meeting are fused into the experience of the landscape 'inundado de tristeza',

¡Cuánta bruma! ¡cuánta sombra!
 cierra, cierra
 los cristales ... ¡Siento un frío por el alma ...!

In a sense the landscape and the sense experience are used in a metonymic relationship. The major effect is to communicate through diffuse and intangible terms the concrete experience of the poet. The function of metonymy, as Wellek and Warren have observed in *Theory of Literature*, (London 1949) is as 'poetry of association by contiguity,

and poetry of association by comparison' (184—85). The effect is to diminish the presence of the experiencing person. He is absorbed into the special landscape of these poems as a passive, almost absent, observer. In 'Melancólica', for example, he is only a felt presence. The reader remains unaware that in reality the active personality is merely using the landscape as a vehicle to convey his personal melancholy. In effect it is a genuine *paysage d'âme*.

Another device which Verlaine employs, as King has stressed, is that of the 'dissolving' of the clear identity of the subject by the use of questions. King argues that 'they are rhetorical only in that no answer is provided or expected, but they do not presuppose a particular reply' (232). The rhetorical questions in well-known poems like 'Le piano que baise', 'Il pleure dans mon cœur' or 'Le ciel est, par-dessus le toit' are, like those in 'Recuerdos . . .' or 'Paisaje del corazón', designed not to provide further information but to establish a tenuous link between the past and the present. That is, there is some past reason for the present state of melancholy. In 'Triste', where the device is not employed, the reader is given the necessary information to understand the past-present contrast, the necessary comparison of past felicity and present despair. But, like the tune heard in 'Le piano que baise', the nightingale in 'Recuerdos . . .' serves to link present mood and past experience. In the poems of Mendès, Coppée or Gil considered above reference is made to the absent beloved by the perfume or the sounds of music which she left behind. So Jiménez is able, in a similar fashion to convey the necessary comparison. But, more like Verlaine, Jiménez omits the essential detail which would explain the psychological reaction. If any information is given it is merely suggested. The focus is on present mood rather than past cause. As with the French *Fantaisistes* and their Spanish equivalents we find the device of deliberate 'aesthetic distancing', of concentrating attention on the mood rather than reference to the now-preterite illusion. As such their poetry differs from the Romantics with its tendency to express the experience and to emphasise the identity of the 'self'. By obscuring the presence of the poet, by suggesting through unanswered questions that there is a reason for the present mood, by the deliberate exclusion of significant detail, the emphasis is placed on effect, on present sensation or feeling. King has argued that 'a more detailed analysis of past experience and present emotion, with a greater emphasis on causality and psychology, inevitably contributes to a fuller portrayal of the subject's identity. But Verlaine resolutely rejects the romantic pattern and focus. The subject's identity is concealed behind the effect rather than the cause' (233—34).

This, clearly, is applicable to Juan Ramón. The question is why he should seek to exploit the technique? He was, after all, to achieve a consummate mastery of it in *Arias tristes* where the naturalisation of Verlaine becomes complete. We have seen that memory leads to despair and a form of spiritual insight, a sense of continuity beyond time and decay. This would explain in part the Verlainesque technique of past-present contrast and the deliberate 'imprecision' of certain of his effects. One of the major stylistic features of his work is the marked tendency to blur outlines, to use suggestive or allusive adjectives and create atmospheric effects. Jiménez's 'eco lánguido', 'vaga amargura', 'la Lejanía confusa, brumosa', 'el campo inundado de tristeza', 'rumor somnolento', 'vaho flotante', 'canciones dormidas', 'un treno süave' or 'azules recuerdos', like their equivalents in the poetry of Verlaine, are used, not to qualify and to make more precise but to obscure the object and dissolve the outlines. Thus the poet's attention is focussed towards the inner meaning of the event to register his hypersensitive reactions to it. Yet there is another manner of blurring outlines which is related to the second reason for the exploitation of the technique. King has noticed in Verlaine's poetry a progression 'from something *seen* to something *heard*, and, with the consequent interaction and fusion of the two senses, to a vague state of reverie and reminiscence' (238). This pattern is to be found in the poems of Mendès, Coppée, Prudhomme, Gil and Icaza cited above and is central to the structure of 'Le piano que baise'. Music or sounds, and sometimes dissolving visions, lead to the sense of some spiritual vibration or emanation from the real world which comes to comfort the poet. In a sense, the 'casita' in 'Triste' 'consoles' the poet. This pattern is as central to Verlaine's poetics as it is to Jiménez's. But why does Jiménez, or Verlaine for that matter, dissolve subject and object, relegate personal identity and the reproduction of the physical world to a minor position and employ musical and atmospheric effects? When the accepted relationship between subject, verb and object are dislocated and the verbal sensation predominates then the subject and object (person and world) assume a secondary role, are reduced in importance, obscured or even disappear. Thus the attention is no longer able to dwell on the 'I' and the object of its interest. It ceases to note the difference between former happiness and present melancholy which is the cause of the mood. Instead attention is now focussed on the present experience alone and the links have been broken. The 'I' and the past have been taken from the picture or relegated to a subordinate position. Thus the cause for despair disappears leaving the poet only with his experience of it. Thus he can contemplate it in

itself unrelated to anything outside of it. It is the 'life without links' which R. Shattuck in *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France* (London 1969) has categorised as one of the salient features of modern art. He can savour it, analyse it, lyricise it, but never take it so much in earnest as to attach it to any concrete experience or acknowledge its truth. In this way the sting of despair is drawn. The artist is able to find a way round the spiritual problem.

In the early collections Jiménez begins to employ this technique albeit unsuccessfully on occasion. Nevertheless, it is a sign, not only of the influence Verlaine was to exercise, but of the changing poetic fashions. And these changing fashions should be related, as Azorín observed in *Clásicos y modernos*, to changing spiritual outlooks. Juan Ramón had begun to reject overtly Romantic attitudes and outlooks and their concomitant techniques. The inherited spiritual problems of the Romantics were as pressing as ever but they were now viewed in a new light. He no longer sought to project the 'self' and its identity. He had begun to move decisively towards the Symbolist experience and the poetry of sensation and introspection of which Verlaine was the acknowledged master.

4. 'Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho'

In *La lámpara maravillosa*, (Madrid n.d.) (1916) Valle-Inclán urged his generation to turn their backs on 'aquel modo castizo, comentario de un gesto desaparecido con las conquistas y las guerras'. He looked for 'una expresión ardiente, sincera y cordial'. 'Amemos la tradición', he went on, 'pero en su esencia, y procurando descifrarla como un enigma que guarda el secreto del Porvenir' (79). The emphasis on 'esencia' and 'tradición' together with the implication of their importance as keys to a goal which has yet to be gained is reminiscent of the tone of Unamuno's *En torno al casticismo*. This might suggest that there is a common bond between Valle-Inclán, the Modernist aesthete, and Unamuno, the giant of the Generation of 1898. A more detailed scrutiny of various comments of men of the 98 concerning literary style suggests that the idea of the interrelationship of the two groups bears more serious consideration. The following paragraphs will attempt to re-examine the vexed question of 'modernismo frente a noventa y ocho' from the point of view of style. The final chapter will take up Valle-Inclán's comment on the 'essence of tradition' as being the key to 'el Porvenir'.

In *Juventud, egolatría* (1917) Baroja specifically rejected, 'like Valle-

Inclán and Jiménez, the rhetoric of the Restoration. He hailed the poetry of Paul Verlaine as the perfect model of a 'retórica de tono menor' made up of 'matices tenues', 'sencillo y sincero'. Azorín also declared himself in favour of a new literary language fitting to the sensibility of the age. In tune with the evolutionist tone of his general outlook, clarified by H. Ramsden in his sensitive edition of *La ruta de Don Quijote*, (Manchester University Press 1966), in *Clásicos y modernos* (1913) Azorín observed that 'evoluciona la sensibilidad, y ha de evolucionar el medio que esa sensibilidad tiene para exteriorizarse'. New states of sentiment and feeling, he added, called for new ways of expressing them. His literary namesake declared himself an 'amante de la sensación intensa y refinada'. Are these comments not reminiscent of Modernist statements on literary style and aesthetics? If we scrutinise the findings of Hans Jeschke in the second part of *La generación de 1898* (Madrid 1954) concerning the aesthetic theory, and literary models and practice of the 98 we perceive that the foregoing statement is far from perverse. We might challenge the thesis of Díaz-Plaja to suggest that in the area of literary language at least there is no case for supposing an artificial division. Elsewhere in this study, and particularly in the concluding chapter, other, more weighty, grounds and arguments are rehearsed for supposing that this division is untenable. The idea of an 'Azorín modernista' or a 'Jiménez noventayochista' should not be lightly discounted.

Jeschke suggested that Verlaine served as the literary mentor of the 98. We know that Darío, Jiménez, Villasespa and the Machado brothers all admired Verlaine and adopted many of the stylistic patterns of his verses. Jeschke's examination of the 'lenguaje generacional' might also be applied without major modification to the Modernists and to Juan Ramón in particular. Since Jeschke calls both Valle-Inclán and Antonio Machado as evidence the first case is already partially made. Other critics would argue that the former was self-evidently Modernist and that the latter has at least some claim to belong to the same group. But Jeschke also uses the work of Baroja, Azorín and Benavente.

Jeschke asserts that spiritual vision ultimately shapes literary language. 'Todo lo que es enfermizo, efímero, negativo', he notes,

atrae irresistiblemente a esa generación en una especie de simpatía sinal y llega a ser para ella expresión simbólica de su sentimiento pesimista de la vida. El rasgo fundamental de este estado de ánimo es la tristeza, ... la gusta totalmente con una especie de sensualidad infame y malsana que recorre toda la gran escala desde la melancolía hasta el espanto. (107)

This, as we have seen, could be taken as an accurate description of Juan Ramón's Decadent writings and of the poetry of extreme refinement considered in the present chapter. Jeschke's list of preferred words — 'dolor, pena, muerte, tristeza, sacrificio, horrible, triste, melancolía, etc.' — are all used by Jiménez. Similarly the employment of themes of decay and passing time are common to both groups: autumn, sunsets, evening, ruins, overgrown gardens, (110—111). Another common device, already considered above, is the *paysage d'âme* with a preponderance of negative elements. Of Baroja's *Camino de perfección* (1902) Jeschke commented,

Que en las descripciones de paisajes de Baroja se trata de imágenes espirituales, de estados de alma, que ellas tienen, por consiguiente, carácter simbólico, lo muestra claramente la descripción del mismo paisaje, otra vez, como es natural, con el uso preferente de nombres negativos, a la luz del sol poniente. (113)

The conclusion that the frequent use of negative nouns in 98 vocabulary is in some way related to the 'dominio del decadentismo' and the spiritual condition arising from lost directions (116—117) is one that has consistently been applied here with regard to Jiménez and his Modernist experience. Even an insensitive reader of Jiménez's early work would recognise the common stylistic ground revealed in Jeschke's list of literary devices, choice of words, choice of suffix, choice of colour, neologisms, archaisms, latinate words, musical effects, *esdrújulos*, and syntactic arrangements. A brief comparison would serve to underline the point. Besides synaesthesia, a common device in Jiménez, Jeschke draws attention to specific colour tones: 'amarillento, blanquecino, níveo, cadavérico, violáceo, verdoso, ceniciento, dorado'; to the qualification of colour effects by adjectival forms like 'aúreo, pálido, nacarado, plomizo, ceniciento, rojizo' or combinations of tones like 'morado, radiante, morados fulgores' (118—124). These effects appear consistently and frequently in the major poems of *Ninfeas* and provide adequate testimony of the obvious stylistic similarities between Modernism and the 98. Azorín uses 'diáfano, cándido, nítido, albo' instead of 'blanco'. Jiménez does likewise. The generational search for sonority in words through the choice of specific suffixes — '-oso, -iano, -ino, -ento, -ente, -eo, -ante', — attached to substantives and adjectives is shared by Jiménez. Jeschke also points to the preference for *esdrújulo* words. Many of them are also used in *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta*: 'hábito, túnica, cámara, hálito, vértigo, crepúsculo, pálido, nostálgico, lívido, trémulo, lánguido, húmedo, melancólico, quimérico, cándido,

místico'. The preference for nominal over verbal forms in the 98 is considered 'como directa impresión simbólica de la vivencia negativa y decadente del mundo de la generación de 1898' (124). The preference for passivity of expression over active verbal forms is conditioned by 'el escepticismo radical, que paraliza la voluntad de esta generación e impulsa a ésta a desempeñar un papel pasivo frente a la vida' (124—25). Jeschke relates the desire for rhythmic effects 'en largo' to the same spiritual condition as he does the disregard for subordinating conjunctions and other grammatical forms: 'Se fundamenta en su sentimiento pesimista de la vida y en su modo de pensar escéptico'. We have then, three central features: the sense of lost directions, refinement of sensibility and the literary model of Paul Verlaine. The 98 triple phenomenon of a 'fuerte sensibilidad, que naturalmente se expresa con claridad en el vocabulario, no sólo está condicionada por el escepticismo de su concepción del mundo y por el refinamiento que de aquí resulta para la facultad sensitiva, sino que también se desarrolla conscientemente bajo la influencia de Verlaine, y ante todo, y nuevamente, de Rubén Darío' (117). We might apply this triple criterion to Jiménez and his Modernist associates. The present chapter would confirm this contention. The only modification would be to suggest that the literary stimulus came not from Verlaine via Rubén Darío but from Verlaine via Icaza, Gil and Juan Ramón Jiménez.

IV. MYSTIC MODERNISM

By the mid 1890s the major call signs of Spanish Modernism had made their appearance: the beguilement of art, spiritual and intuited essences alongside the recognition of the temporality of existence, the flight into rêverie, the lyrical evocation of loss as a device against the terror of death and the pain of physical separation. In Icaza, in Gil, and subsequently in Juan Ramón Jiménez himself, the death of the beloved is recorded in terms of absence or of fleeting visions expressed by a sense of void and emptiness. But the stark horror of death is held at a distance while the artist's attention is diverted into the process of transmuting that emptiness into poetry. Thought becomes feeling, anguish becomes an introspective art. This legacy is to become in Spain, as opposed to Spanish speaking countries in general, one of the most significant identifying features of Spanish *modernismo místico*. Juan Ramón noted of the 1890s that '[e]tonces tenemos que en España hay un grupo de poetas que se llaman modernistas, pero que son diferentes

de los hispanoamericanos. Los hispanoamericanos son más parnasianos, siguen siendo más parnasianos, los nuevos siguen siendo más parnasianos; *los españoles* siguen cada vez más interiores, más pensativos, más de vida adentro, porque, claro, España es un país más místico que Hispanoamérica' (sic).³⁵ There was a strong 'mystic' (in a new and special sense) cast to the patterns of thought arising from the *criticista* strain of the Romantic movement and from Krausism. An examination of the poetry of those writers discussed here would suggest that there also existed a strong 'interior' and 'pensive' strain of poetry that was decidedly introspective, 'más de vida adentro'. Juan Ramón never met Paso or Gil; he knew Icaza personally.³⁶ By 1903 they were on the closest terms.

Like Pauvre Lélian, Icaza was to teach Juan Ramón the technique of the *paysage d'âme*. In 'Tristeza primaveral' (PLP, 1524) the contrast between the promise of springtime and the pain and loneliness of the poet is reminiscent of the closing lines of 'Paisaje' (E, 23). Icaza's

Enfermo y solo, mi alma desespera . . .
 ¿Y a esto se llama juventud y vida?
 ¡Y a esto se llama abril y primavera! (1890)

is repeated in a variant form in Jiménez's

¡Tengo una tristeza
 Dentro de mi alma . . .!
 ¡Siento unos deseos
 de ahogarme en mis lágrimas . . .!
 ¡Ay! ¡que solo estoy!
 . . .
 ¡Qué tarde más bella!
 ¡Primavera hermosa! ¡Primavera blanca!
 tu Sol esplendente, tu celeste cielo, tus flores fragantes,
 inundan mi pecho de tristes nostalgias . . .

Similarly 'Vibraciones' (1889):

Dentro del alma sintiendo
 Algo del paisaje mismo:
 La tristeza resignada
 De un cielo gris y tranquilo (E, 55)

reworks Verlaine's 'Il pleure dans mon coeur' (*Romances sans paroles*) just as Juan Ramón reworked the same motif in 'Paisaje del corazón' (PLP, 1495). These poets are very much exponents of the various currents emerging in the mid 1880s: the cultivation of an *intimismo* and of *matices*, the naturalisation into Spanish letters of the sentiment-

talities of the *Fantaisistes*, the *chose grise* of Verlaine and the reinvigoration of Bécquer's aesthetics. In short, the 'arsenal expresivo' of *modernismo* in Spain. Along with the influence on his early work of José Asunción Silva, 'Icaza influye también algo. No se puede señalar una división exacta' (*Viva voz*, 149). Such a comment would explain not only the coincident aesthetic ground between all three poets but also help the reader understand the difficulties encountered in ascribing sources of influence, resonances and echoes. Juan Ramón was clearly not breaking new ground. Rather he was adopting a style that had already begun to emerge. It is true that the new style had not yet become fashionable or even respectable. Yet if Jiménez was accepting a legacy from the 1880s he was also refashioning it and making it peculiarly his own. His unerring ear for the nuance, his extreme sensitivity to moods and atmosphere, his own personal inner pain (emotional and philosophical), all contributed towards the creation of a new aesthetic. With the renewed and direct contact with France in late 1900, the new friendships with the Machados and the *Helios* brotherhood in 1902, the contacts with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and the scientists who associated with it, and wider reading, the ground was prepared for *Arias tristes* and the new *modernismo*. His absorption of the trends and the currents discussed here were an essential and necessary part of the poet's apprenticeship as he prepared himself for the creation, along with Antonio Machado, of one of the two great works of Spanish Modernism.

CHAPTER FIVE: APOSTLES OF POETRY

I. MELANCHOLY DREAMERS

Jiménez's conception of the artist, like his aesthetic idealism, is expressed in the common currency of the progressive attitudes of the *fin de siècle*. He shows all the signs of the thorough digestion of the Hugoesque conception of the poet as it came to be expounded in the 1890s. By then certain of its Romantic aspects had begun to take on new emphases of which 'el emperador Hugo' would never have approved. Yet these refurbished theories became standard currency for *modernista* writers on both sides of the Atlantic largely under the leadership of Darío.

The Romantics conferred upon the artist a unique role in the affairs of men. In the person of the poet they sought to affirm their own individuality, to gain by their art a glory which was unobtainable in any other way, and to attribute importance to their spiritual experiences which seemed, amid the growing scepticism of the age, to provide a means to some absolute or divine principle. As a result of these experiences the poet-seer became endowed with a special vision that controlled life. He enjoyed a privileged perception and insight into the destiny of man and the nature of the universe. He could come to know more of the world than the scientist or the scholar. Like most European Romantics before him Jiménez also grants the poet a supreme importance and for the same reasons. In 1827 in the famous preface to *Cromwell* Hugo suggested that the criterion for literary excellence should depend less on decorum and elegance of formulation than on the power of the artist's imagination. The banner cry of 'La liberté dans l'art' was to echo down the century and reverberate in the preface to Darío's *Prosas profanas* and the early poems of Juan Ramón Jiménez.

1. *Les Mages*

In the preface to *La Légende des siècles* (1859) Hugo voiced his conviction concerning the implacable forward movement of mankind. While

such an idea is more emotional than radically deterministic we find an easy-going eclecticism in the attempt to fuse the imaginative expression of the real and the transcendental. The poet's search for knowledge, by reason and intuition, made him a prophet, divinely endowed with a vision of social progress and powers of intuiting more of the mystery that lies beyond our sense perceptions. It fell to the writer to communicate through art his greater vision and awareness. The poet's voice, argued Hugo, was a necessary instrument to human enlightenment and progress as much as the voices of the other guardians of human civilisation. This idea, as we shall see, was to take on a special significance for Jiménez when he came into contact with a singular *fin de siècle* phenomenon: the phenomenon of determinist causality. The description of the poet's role in 'Fonction du poète' (*Les Rayons et les ombres* [1840]) became a sacred text for many writers later in the century and is memorably echoed in Darío's celebrated '¡Torres de Dios! ¡Poetas! ¡Pararrayos celestes!'.

Hugo, like Campoamor, would say that the successful artist is the one who first feels the pulse of his age. Lamartine and Musset would reply that the poet owes it to his fellow men to delve into his private experiences. This leads to an unforeseen difficulty. In artists like Musset, Bécquer, Mallarmé, or Verlaine we find not only the search for the quintessence of Beauty in individual experience and the attempt to make precise what is vague, but the associated realisation that the poetic ideal, goal of their artistic odyssey, cannot be realised. The result, given that the ideal of Beauty is the last remaining absolute, is despair. *Impuissance* and *angoisse* are related conditions of the poetic function. Yet there remained the possibility that the messianic vision for mankind and the individual search for a personal ideal could be reconciled. We shall return to this possibility later.

2. *Los raros*

In Darío's *Los raros* (1896) we find a clear expression of the negative attitude for the work relies heavily on Verlaine's *Les Poètes maudits* (1894) and Baudelaire's celebrated essays on Edgar Allan Poe. The central idea is to be found in the essay on 'el divino Edgardo'.

Era un sublime apasionado, un nervioso, uno de esos divinos semilocos necesarios para el progreso humano, lamentables cristos del arte, que por amor al eterno ideal tienen su calle de la amargura, sus espinas y su cruz. Nació con la adorada llama de la poesía, y ella le alimentaba al propio tiempo que

era su martirio. ... Desde muy temprano conoció las asechanzas del lobo racional. ... Su necesidad de análisis, la condición algebraica de su fantasía, hácele producir tristísimos efectos cuando nos arrastra al borde de lo desconocido, la especulación filosófica nubló en él la fe, que debiera poseer como todo poeta verdadero.

(O.C., II, 267—69)

The association of 'imagination' with Romantic rational and philosophical analysis is indisputable. Art provides meaning and consolation and becomes the final retreat in a world devoid of other sustaining absolute principles. Rational scrutiny (*análisis*) brings insight and the loss of faith. Yet art is no easy panacea for metaphysical ills. The artistic struggle to reach Beauty, to state in terms of rational postulates what is often inexpressible, must be an intention that is logically destined to fail. Alongside the despair of achieving some form of Absolute value in Beauty goes, of course, the twin Romantic themes of the poet as a victim of the vision of nothingness and the poet as victim of public envy and opprobrium. Christ represented the Gospel (which challenged traditional assumptions) and was crucified for his temerity. The modern artist, too, feels himself to be a martyr for the new aesthetic faith. There is also the view that Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane was in some way related to man's sense of cosmic abandonment.

Yet while there is much of the *maudit* mentality in *Los raros*, many of Darío's disciples overlooked the more subtle inner spiritual core and the celebration of exquisite pain. They elaborated the vestigially Romantic strident element of the lonely genius and outcast that belongs to Vigny and Hugo. It is clear that Villaespesa's many poems depicting the poet as a Christ figure and Art as a Calvary were affirmations of this aspect. Cansinos Assens suggested in *Los temas literarios y su interpretación* (Madrid n. d.) that Villaespesa adopted the theme because the modern poet incarnated a new art 'no comprendido por el vulgo y asetado a sarcasmos por la plebe académica. El poeta asume la representación del nuevo arte indeciso, y se identifica con el divino Nazareno, cuyo evangelio fue también desconocido y mofado por los doctores de la antigua ley' (74). Both Villaespesa and Jiménez, who was temporarily under his influence, modelled themselves on the lonely prophetic heroes of Vigny and Hugo. Hugo's *poète-rêveur* is generally scorned by an uncomprehending society. In 'La Statue' (*Les Rayons et les ombres*) we find the archetypal model for the many versions of fallen heroes and artists in the poetry of Spain and Latin America. In Spain, even before the arrival of Darío, Reina had combined Hugo's poet/prophet with the conception of the *poète rêveur*. As early as 1878 in 'Respuesta' (*Cromos y acuarelas*) and more emphatically in 'Shake-

speare' and 'La estatua' Reina shows all the signs of a ready acceptance of the idealism of 'el divino emperador'. We find the martyr mentality in Darío's *Los raros* and 'A una estrella' (*Azul . . .*), which are an amalgam of Hugo, Vigny and Espronceda. Such, too is the case with Villaspesa's Christ-poets with the added veneer of Darío himself. The loneliness of the poet is stressed. The prophet, destined to lead mankind, is mocked. He is also cursed with an insight into the nothingness of existence.

In Juan Ramón's 'Spoliarivm' (*PLP*, 1496) we sense the same vibrant celebration and the exultant triumph of the poet. He is now a gladiator rather than a fallen statue, though the former clearly has statuesque overtones. In fact, the gladiator motif was extensively cultivated by a number of Latin American writers whom Juan Ramón had approvingly cited in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule*. The idealism expressed is second hand. So slavish is Juan Ramón that he copies Hugo. Thus his vocabulary is rendered into Spanish: 'olímpico' and 'sublime', the 'ojos elevados', the 'blanca frente erguida' and 'soñador'. Even the detail of the condemnation of the dying hero to oblivion belongs to Hugo. The poet, because of his sensitivity, is the victim of human indifference and degeneracy and finds no comfort from his uncomprehending fellows. Jiménez's gladiator has fallen on Darío's 'camino de la Gloria', the path to the Ideal, and succumbs, not to thorns and thistles, but to scorn and envy. As with other *modernistas*, the poet's reaction is one of exemplary heroism. In other poems we find a less stoic approach to envy and the defensive assertion of the gifts of the poet. If 'Spoliarivm' echoes Darío's resonant prefatory poem to *Ninfeas* and the theme of noble revolt of Vigny's 'La Prison', the second reaction is more closely related to Baudelaire's conception of the *dandy*. In 'A varios ¿amigos?'¹ Jiménez gives voice to a lofty Romantic idealism. In tones of over-righteous indignation he despises his fellow men, the 'populacho' of 'Spoliarivm', for their preoccupations with sensual pleasures and their lack of idealism. The world of the Idealist and that of the Materialist (in the terms of the nineteenth century) is being contrasted with a decided emphasis on the superiority of Idealism. His own 'ensueños e ilusiones' grant him 'una luz que el alma guía', a value system (expressed in Christian terms though clearly not strictly religious) which they lack. We have the religion of Art and the doctrine of the imagination, that contaminated stream of religiosity which emerged in the nineteenth century. Art has become the last surviving absolute. It has also become the artist's identity, the tangible sign of his superior sensibility, his vision and his essential loneliness.

This poem echoes both Darío and the common currency of *modernista* expression. In an open letter in *El Programa* on 1 October 1899 Julio Pellicer described Villaespesa as an 'apóstol de la poesía'. 'Campeón heróico, altivo, indiferente, miras a los envidiosos rebullir en torno tuyo asaetándote despiadados con sus mofas sarcásticas, sin que te intimiden; luchas poseído de serenidad estoica y sereno subes a la cumbre brilladora'. The clamour of the *anti-modernista* press fed this attitude of masochistic pleasure. The more deeply the critical barbs struck the greater the sense of alienation from base material concerns, the greater the feeling of brotherhood, of spiritual superiority and of aesthetic aristocracy. This attitude was echoed by the young Juan Ramón in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule*. Jiménez rejects a sterile academic criticism with a strong positivist and empirical emphasis in favour of 'soul' and 'mystery'. If anything, Juan Ramón and Villaespesa suffer all the zeal of recent converts. Their rhetoric smacks of Romantic attitudinizing, the assumption of a role in order to impress. One feels that this *persona* can all too easily be discarded when the poet finds another role to play. It is as if Jiménez were adopting a pose that suited the expectations of his new-found friends rather than his own instinctive temperament. This will explain the subsequent strenuous efforts to destroy these early poems and to set the record according to his sincerer attitudes.

There is a more restrained mood in 'El cisne' where the swan, the Modernist symbol *par excellence* of perfection, appears in the Spanish movement proper probably for the first time. Darío had enunciated his theory of an 'estética acrática' in the prologue to *Prosas profanas*. In 'El cisne'² we find the archetypal image of beauty and purity, with associations of divinity from the Leda legend vividly revived by Darío. There are also possible Wagnerian undertones by association with the Lohengrin legend and echoes of Darío's 'Alma mía' (O. C., V, 855). The 'cisne' is the poet who swims

sin mancharse de lo inundo,
¡siempre pura, siempre erguida en la conciencia!

The rhetoric of *modernismo* is muted. This less histrionic pose accurately reflects the temperament, the personality and the background of a young man, who, according to his biographers and acquaintances, was a man of exceptional sensibility, sensitive delicacy, introversion and refined tastes. Poems like 'El cisne', as Jiménez was to observe in 'Ofertorio', are dedicated to an élite of like-minded sensitive souls. This attitude is succinctly expressed in a letter to José Sánchez

Rodríguez on 13 April 1900, soon after Juan Ramón's arrival in Madrid.

Yo aconsejaría a usted como buen compañero, que no viniera a esta corte podrida donde los literatos se dividen en dos ejércitos: una de canallas y otro de ... maricas. Sólo se puede hablar con cinco o seis nobles corazones: Villaspesa, Pellicer, Martínez Sierra, Darío, Rueda y algún que otro más'.

Other poems recount the trials of the poet who seeks 'El Ideal' and 'La Gloria'. These themes are, of course, the stock-in-trade of Modernist diction. In *La caja de música* (1898) Ricardo Gil had described how the poets who abandon safe shores 'por perseguir un sueño' at the risk of death from 'abismo' and 'sima', (symbolic of metaphysical void) must journey on for their 'Amor al ideal'. Like Darío's 'camino de la Gloria', their sea journey and their struggle is ignored by the mass. Nevertheless, that longing for the Ideal, 'fiebre incurable, sed nunca satisfecha', while bringing anguish and suffering, will also bring to mankind a necessary civilizing influence. One might say that Jiménez had placed on the traditional image of 'pobre barquilla mía' the *modernista* interpretation of Gil in poems like 'Marina' (*PLP*, 1534), 'Aurea' (1510), 'Titánica' (1477) and 'Salvadoras' (1539). In 'Áurea' we find the belief that the artist can overcome the problem of death by means of immortality through Art. Jiménez's

al navegante espera mejor suerte,
que después de su sangriento batallar
¡vendrá el triunfo ambicionado
y en su Oriente sonrosado
una Aurora deslumbrante ha de cantar ...!

not only repeats Darío's symbol of the dawn as the advent of the Ideal and spiritual consolation, but repeats more specifically the affirmation of Darío's 'Marina'. 'Áurea' echoes the belief that the 'new life' awaits the artist at the end of his quest. But the submarine paradise and the 'Deidades de túnicas nevadas' belong to Reina and Díaz as much as Darío. The image of the drowned poet supported in the sea by goddesses is also reminiscent of Art Nouveau and Symbolist painters of the 1890s. 'Tétrica', more rhetorically, celebrates the martyrdom, the edifying spectacle of the 'high Roman death'. Contemptuous of death the poet will destroy himself in Art rather than submit to inferior claims. There is a hint of the Romantic archetypal hero who refuses to accept cosmic laws as he understands them, refuses traditional consolations and chooses either suicide or revolt. If the world is manifestly metaphysically unjust the Romantic and post-Romantic heroes refuse life.

3. *Le Dandy*

The ready acceptance of death forms the central affirmation of one of Jiménez's most interesting early poems. '¡Dichoso!'³ enshrines the last words of a condemned man to his family. Since his crime is clearly a political rather than a civil one and the poem appeared in the pages of *Vida Nueva* and *La Publicidad* in Barcelona, both liberal newspapers, Juan Ramón probably had the celebrated Proceso de Montjuich in mind. Juan Ramón almost certainly knew Hugo's tract against capital punishment *Le Dernier Jour d'un condamné* (1829) or he may have been inspired by the uplifting 'Pintura de ideas' of Álvarez de Sotomayor printed in *Vida Nueva* under the title 'La familia del anarquista la víspera de la ejecución'.⁴ *Vida Nueva*, in fact, was one of the most vociferous of the liberal papers to cry out against the Proceso. It reported and commented at length on the crisis. Of interest in this context is Pere Corominas' 'Recuerdos del Castillo. Historia de un fusilado'⁵ which related the final days of the unfortunate Juan Alsina.

Cuando le trasladaron a Barcelona para embarcarlo, todavía pudo ver a su carbonerita con el niño desmedrado en brazos, y era una hermosa visión para evocada (sic) en la anchurosa cuadra de los condenados a muerte aquella despedida a la entrada de la cárcel, atado él codo con codo, y abrazada ella a su cuello besándole la boca.

Jiménez's poem has all the sentimental overtones of such a parting. It also points to the cruelty and injustice of men and the looked-for reward in a life hereafter. It throws into relief the edifying acceptance of their lot on the part of the condemned of the *Vida Nueva* articles and the autobiographies of the victims of the Proceso. Yet the reader is left with an uneasy feeling concerning motivation. First there is no account of the crime committed, merely a vague reference to 'las injusticias de la Tierra'. There is no evidence on which to judge the case for it has been judged in favour of the anarchist himself. Second there is a poignant awareness of the fact that life will go on after the individual death of the condemned man. This Romantic theme, used in later collections, brings the mind against the cruel enigma with which most thinking people are familiar. One might say that we have here, in embryo, that theme which Jiménez is to explore later in company with Machado. That theme, of the mystery of time and essence, has, of course, been investigated by P. Olson. Third, the crime and the heroic idealism are not related to anything outside the poem. The blow against society and its injustice is an individual act unrelated to any total

regenerationist view of society. It is revolt, but it is a metaphysical one which began with the Romantics. Last we are alerted by phrases like 'la lucha formidable', '[p]or el mundo no encontré el Ideal de mis delirios', 'otro mundo más sublime'. The 'socialist realism' perceived by Palau de Nemes (*PII*, 109) is only a veneer, a theme that can be all too easily cast aside. The nerve centre of the poem is aesthetic. The condemned man is the artist.

It was probably the much quoted encomium of Dionisio Pérez, editor of *Vida Nueva*,⁶ that has led critics like Guillermo de Torre and Ricardo Gullón to note a 'tan evidente intención social'⁷ in 'Los amantes del miserable' (*PLP*, 1491). Jiménez was not a 'socialist' artist. The theme of condemned anarchists, beggars, starving innocents, the Ibsen translations and especially the poem on the death of Castelar would appear to confirm the 'socialist' interpretation and would suggest that Jiménez formed part of that *coterie* about Antonio Palomero and Ernesto Bark who supported radical political and social aims. Yet they are really pictures of the artist himself. Jiménez was no radical politician. The vocabulary of '¡Dichoso!' or of 'Los amantes del miserable' with its references to 'timbre de su gloria; / de la gloria más sublime; de la lucha, / de la lucha formidable por la lóbrega Existencia . . .' and the beggar's longing for 'un ensueño de dulcísimos deleites', as with much of the apparent 'socialist' vocabulary of Reina and Darío, is properly the rhetoric of *modernismo*. It is the vocabulary of the exaltation of the poet and his struggle for the Ideal. But he is not idealised, he is conceived perversely. The *dandy's* affirmation of superiority, which is a moral prophylaxis which saves the soul from contamination through the resolution to astonish and not to be astonished oneself, has become more cerebral, more corrupted. The *dandy*, sated, indifferent, desires a new sensation to titillate his jaded senses. Hence he intellectualises this sentimental 'socialist' picture. He takes delight in his abjection, in his vision of himself as a derelict. He derives vicarious pleasure from imagining his own death in the arms of scabrous whores. The longing for the Ideal is wilfully corrupted to the level of the mingling of orgasm and death throes in the filthy bedrooms of the low life city. 'Los amantes del miserable', like '¡Dichoso!', is not a rational argument for change and improvement. It is a statement of decadent perversity. It is a gratification of narcissism and a statement of spiritual superiority. The desire for a self-imposed alienation and for self-abasement is linked psychologically with the desire for distinction, with the craving to gain through art a glory unattainable in another way. This attitude is central to *dandyism* and, as such, must be

associated with the question of finding a viable system of belief in an age of apparent metaphysical dissolution. The various postures adopted and ideals sought are all linked in their potential for allowing the poet to lose himself or to lull his anxieties and torments. Baudelaire's dictum in *Mon Coeur mis à nu* that the dandy should live and sleep in a mirror, an idea that was influential in progressive artistic circles in the 1890s, would suggest that insensitivity and impassivity (even to the extent of the vicarious experience of an imagined death) are but a goal, probably unattainable, certainly unattained. Wilful self-abasement is like wilful superiority, a form of self-protection. Both are the masks of *dandysme*. The dual element of the act of self-contemplation is again apparent. Self-regard in art allows the poet to contemplate himself as in a mirror. He can thus remain coldly detached. The mirror is also the totally internally reflecting and absorbing realm wherein the self is lost in a narcissistic gaze. Art becomes 'self-reflexive' and self-discovering.⁸ It also offers a maze of internally reflecting surfaces which symbolise the inner ontological doubts of the artist beset by anxieties concerning his role and destiny. There remains the menace of the loss of selfhood. In the labyrinths of the mirrored realm the true identity is all too easily confused and lost. How can the artist be sure of his role and the 'truth' of his art or is it just another distortion of 'truth', a 'lie' to deceive and undo the artist? Jiménez's poems in *Arias tristes* which conjure up a series of *alter egos* in the shapes of fleeting figures, the anxious questioning of who will consider him after his death, and the constant addressing his remarks to his 'corazón', indicate that this ontological concern was to become obsessive. Yet art can offer a beguilement, a sheltered world that protects the poet from ontological and other metaphysical problems.

Jiménez's prologue to Tomás Domínguez Ortiz's *Nieblas* (Huelva 1900) would confirm the argument that the 'socialism' of the poet is in reality aestheticism. *Nieblas* comprised a series of short stories with an evident sociological theme, probably influenced by the writings of Pardo Bazán. Of this theme Jiménez wrote in February 1900,

idea que está en perfecta consonancia con mi manera de pensar... Nada más grande que cantar la Miseria; nada tan alto como unir un gemido desgarrado, al sollozo inmenso, entrecortado y lagrimoso que se levanta en fábricas y talleres; el sollozo agónico de una vida que lucha desesperadamente con una muerte horrorosa, que como el sol taciturno y tembloroso alumbra opacamente el negro día del Dolor y la Angustia... (11)

Again, as elsewhere, there is an irresistible ambiguity of expression. 'Lucha', 'soldados' and other military words belong, of course, to the

avant garde rhetoric of Villaespesa's zealot idealism so clearly expressed in the title of his collection *Luchas* (1899) (which the author sent to Juan Ramón) and the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta*. As in the verses of Jiménez, there is little that could properly be termed 'socialist' in Villaespesa's work at this time. Rather both poets have taken the high minded language of Hugo's *mage*, the *vox populi* of progressive and socialistic Romanticism, to adapt it to their own narcissistic needs. The question is, are these works a rational argument for social change and improvement or are they a manifestation of Decadent perversity? The answer is obvious. The hapless victims are perverse objectifications of the artist's own morbid and imagined sufferings. They are gratifications of his own narcissism and propagandist expressions of his own superiority. If there were any doubt, the description of the worker, victim of poverty and social injustice, is seen by Jiménez, not in progressive terms, but in the familiar guise of the *raro* and Christ. His bread is watered by 'lágrimas amargas como hieles', the mists garland his head, 'una punzante corona de espinas que se clavan en ella como garras metálicas' (11). If any further evidence were wanting that Jiménez imposed on Domínguez Ortiz's work his own vision of cosmic injustice and the loss of redemption, the final grim parody of *Misericordia* fallen amid Golgotha and *Götterdämmerung* would supply it.

[U]na justicia que se ríe, que se ríe burlonamente, viéndose libre, en los morados horizontes de un paisaje brumoso y tétrico, sobre cuyo picos sombríos se eleva una cruz pesada y negra; un paisaje brumoso y tétrico, de cielo plúmbeo y frío, cruzado por lúgubres grajos que vuelan pesadamente, como rondando el virginal cadáver de la Misericordia, cuyos miasmas flotan en los aires, saturándolos de efluvios podridos, nauseabundos, febricitantes . . . , cielo plúmbeo y frío que pesa como tierra sobre las abatidas frentes de los desheredados, bañándolas en las melancólicas claridades de un sol de Tristeza, aureándolas de guirnaldas de Amargura . . . (12—13)

The themes and vocabulary are overtly Romantic. The décor is pure Félicien Rops, illustrator of Baudelaire. This and a random comment in 'Los que influyeron en mí' in 1953 gives the lie to any social-reformist interpretation,

[m]e puse a escribir a la manera de Ibsen y a la manera de los fusilamientos de Montjuich, *siendo yo el héroe*, el anarquista condenado a muerte.

(CI, 231. My emphasis)

Cansinos Assens' comment on Villaespesa would concur.

El poeta se complace en describirse a sí mismo con las facciones de una víctima, con los rasgos de un suplicante, de una criatura expoliada, engañada, vendida por el amor y la amistad; no comprendida y ulcerada por la deslealtad y la ingratitud.⁹

4. *Un enfant du siècle*

The attitude of contempt and superiority over the common herd has an obvious corollary. Because of his gifts the poet is isolated from his fellows. In the insistence on loneliness and the lack of self-criticism or self-analysis Jiménez, like his fellow *modernistas*, expresses the *enfant du siècle* mentality. There is no evidence of the ironic and bitter self-mockery of Musset's *L'Histoire d'un merle blanc* or Heine's *Buch der Lieder*. Yet there remains something of the bohemian mentality that emerged in Spain, probably for the first time, in the persons of Alejandro Sawa, Ernesto Bark, Manuel Paso, Emilio Carrère, Antonio Palomero or Henri Cornuty. Baudelaire's enunciation of the doctrine of 'l'héroïsme de la vie moderne' was, in a way, to anticipate the emergence of the *fin de siècle* bohemians and the Chaplinesque figures of the 1920s and 1930s. Baudelaire, like a number of the poets of Spain and France in the twentieth century, treats life as if it were a farcical accident. They assume what González Martínez, speaking of the Spain of the 1920s, called 'un heroísmo dócil, vulgar y cotidiano', that is, an essentially stoic attitude. Such a mood is latent in the stoicism of Jiménez's anarchist and the willing embrace in the arms of the harlot Death in 'Los amantes del miserable'. Jiménez's poems are redolent of that famous passage in Musset's 'Nuit de Mai' (which provides an archetypal image of the Romantic artist), where the pelican waddles carefully to the top of the hill before beginning his act of self-sacrifice. The image tells us nothing of personal suffering. It is designed, not to define experience, but to incite an easy reaction. It belongs to the tradition of the rhetoric of self-pity unleavened by self-analysis.

II. 'CETTE PRISON NOMMÉE LA VIE . . .'

If we closely examine Jiménez's 'socialist' poetry we find not a programme for reform or even a real cry for social justice. We find an expression of *angustia metafísica*.¹⁰ The Ibsen translations and 'El minero' in particular, clearly echo the sceptical Romantic vision of nothingness as expressed in Larra's *Antony* essays. Here Larra finds a truth which must be related to that found by the miner, a 'truth' which is neither 'útil', 'bueno' nor the 'expresión del progreso humano'. On the contrary, 'el enigma misterioso de la Vida' sought by the miner must be linked with Romantic 'fatal truth'. There are also echoes of the

Romantic prison house, symbol of metaphysical imprisonment, in the miner's reflections on the 'laberintos' and the darkness of the mine. Similarly we have references to preterite illusions and present spiritual loss. In the prologue to *Nieblas* the factory and the workers are models for the poetic life. The 'lucha' is in part against the exploitation of the worker and the contempt for human dignity and spirit in an age of materialism. Of more concern, however, is the struggle with insight. Each dawn marks the potential realisation of the Ideal. On other occasions it heralds 'el sol taciturno y tembloroso' symbol of insight itself. The Romantic centre is explicit in the phrase which describes that dawn as 'el negro día del Dolor y la Angustia' amid a *Walpurgisnacht* landscape where 'la justicia ... se ríe burlonamente' in the sight of a cross which offers no redemption.

This motif is shared in common with many of Jiménez's contemporaries. We might examine from among a selection of examples Darío's 'A una estrella' from *Azul* ... which was clearly so influential in the younger writer as he admitted to Díaz-Plaja. There we find in addition to the *modernista* jargon of 'cambroneras y abrojos', the implication of the metaphysical nature of the poet's suffering. 'Me hablaste de la Gloria, donde hay que andar ... cerca de hondos abismos, llenos de sombra como la muerte. Me hablaste del vergel Amor, donde es casi imposible cortar una rosa sin morir, ... Y me dijiste de la terrible y muda esfinge de bronce que está a la entrada de la tumba'. This is the very stuff of post-Romantic Decadence. The poet who walks in the 'garden of Love' (the sphere of poetic inspiration where the poet seeks the kiss of knowledge from Beauty) is destroyed by the Gioconda Sphinx. This is the nerve centre of the *fin de siècle*. The paradox of the artist's position is explicit. If the poet pursues the Ideal of Art and Beauty, a form of knowledge, that knowledge proves fatal as it had proven for virtually every sceptical Romantic hero from Manfred onwards.

III. 'EL ARTE COMO ALIVIO'

1. 'Abajo lo viejo y rancio'

Ángel Guerra's essay in *Vida Nueva* (81, 24-XII-1899) under the title 'Modernismo' describes '[l]a vida contemporánea' as 'enferma, cansada, histérica, muy nerviosa, precozmente alegre o prematuramente aburrida'. It anticipates González Serrano's call in *La Literatura*

tura del día (1903) for a more positive and heuristic art to seek a work of art '[que] tranforme la organización social y modifique los gustos'. But he sadly admits that '[e]se libro hace falta'. Jiménez and his associates did not rally to the call of the leading article of the first number of *Germinal* on 30 April 1897 under the title '¿A dónde vamos?' This editorial followed the strong Socialist-Republican line of Joaquín Dicenta, Ricardo Fuentes, Antonio Palomero, Urbano González Serrano and others, many of whom were to become Juan Ramón's friends. It rang with the progressive messianism of the age, sought to cast down 'lo viejo y lo rancio' and looked to the twentieth century as 'el mensajero de la equidad y la justicia'. Manuel Machado's recollection in *Uno de teatro* (Madrid n. d. [1917]) of those heady days of protest along the lines laid down by the mandarins of *Germinal* indicates that in the literary field at least Spain's intellectuals had failed her. The young, noted Machado, were aware of the 'Disaster' and threw themselves into radical protest against the establishment. But:

Se debatía y protestaban con motines, con asonadas, con libros subversivos y periódicos rojos. Vivía inquieta y desazonada. Vivió poco. Muchos acabaron jóvenes, víctimas de la bohemia que los llevó su descontento y del alcohol en que ahogaron ansias de ideal. Sawa, Paso, Delorme. Otros cambiaron con el tiempo. (57)

In the preface to the posthumous second edition of Paso's *Nieblas*, (Madrid 1902) Joaquín Dicenta argued that Paso's *borracheras* were not simple roistering but were a slow suicide. Paso's bitterly ironic comments to Dicenta, along with the frequent references to *dolor* and *escepticismo* would indicate that Paso, like many of the other bohemians of the 1890s was a victim of the prevalent metaphysical ill. Valle-Inclán hints as much in *Luces de bohemia*. Brotherston has suggested in his study of Manuel Machado that '[t]he Modernist's sense of solidarity was due chiefly to a common lack of public success: a rejection of a society which left them, in the words of Pío Baroja, "sin oficio, sin medios de existencia y sin porvenir"' (20). Baroja considered that their Bohemianism was the product of a nation in extreme political and economic crisis. Yet Baroja was perfectly well aware that the symptoms of malaise were not simply socio-political ones. What has been generally overlooked is the ideological dimension of the process of revolutionary failure. The result was a resort to self-inflicted degradation and alcoholism or the flight into refined aestheticism on the part of many of those who mingled on the edges of the bohemian coteries. Jiménez chose the latter. In an article published in

the Parisian *L'Humanité Nouvelle* under the title 'Chronique espagnole' Baroja paradoxically gave the lie to any easy interpretation along simple socio-political lines.

Esta inquietud que se nota en la atmósfera moral de este fin de siglo, este rápido remolino de ideas, de utopías, de fórmulas metafísicas que florecen para morir y descomponerse inmediatamente, no pueden satisfacer a un pueblo como el de España, continuamente herido por la adversidad y la desgracia y que, *si tuviera que recurrir al arte para buscar un alivio*, le pediría la tranquilidad y el consuelo en lugar de sensaciones muy vivas. Un pueblo sin dirección no puede tener entusiasmo por un arte que también carece de ideal. Quizá el arte no ha seguido jamás una dirección fija, pero es evidente que no se ha visto nunca una desviación tan notoria como la que percibimos en el presente. El flujo, las tendencias, las corrientes artísticas que agitan al mundo intelectual, llegan a España muy debilitados, y casi siempre por intermedio de Francia, habiendo perdido ya su brillo y sobre todo su actualidad. (III, 2 (1899), 265. My emphasis)

Baroja's lack of sympathy with aestheticism is well-known. Thus he can perceive no 'idealism' within its pursuit of Beauty. In strictly utilitarian terms he was correct of course, for aestheticism sought no utilitarian end. Indeed, it specifically argued that art should be freed from such concerns. It depends what one means by 'idealism'. His comments concerning the philosophical centre of the new currents in art, the wry quip concerning the influence of France, and the second-hand nature of the content and expression of Spanish letters of the aesthetic groups, however, provide a fair assessment of the state of affairs in Spanish literature in 1900. At this moment *modernismo*, albeit comprising many groups with many aims, was on the point of coalescing into a recognisable movement.

2. 'Una regeneración espiritual'

Juan Ramón seems to have sympathised with the humanitarian aims of the liberals of his age as the *Política poética* of 15 June 1936 suggests (TG, 17—34). However, the revolt, spiritual and linguistic, against 'lo viejo y lo rancio' of his *modernismo* seems to be geared less to a new social contract than the 'spiritual' revival of the whole along lines suggested by the still influential Krausists and à Kempis. To this we shall return. Such a view would also explain the enthusiasm Jiménez felt when he met the teachers of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and his deep affection for Giner de los Ríos. There was also reciprocal admiration by them for the young poet. In *Arias tristes*, the inward

search for man's deepest spiritual energies and forces was to become the major aim and programme for the realisation of man's idealistic potential. The energies of the young Juan Ramón were not set on a genuine social revolution. The ideal of the *Helios* group was only dimly perceived. Largely under the influence of Darío and the Decadence of France, Jiménez's efforts were channelled towards the realisation of a narcissistic recreation of the world in terms of his own spiritual disquiet. While he can observe himself as in a mirror the *dandy* can also dissociate himself from the underlying problem. If Dionisio Pérez thought that Jiménez was a socially preoccupied writer then the poet either sailed under false colours or the editor misunderstood Juan Ramón's intentions. His 'socialism' was a suit of clothes that were to be discarded when the fashion changed and when he began the inner quest which was to lead to the extremes of introspection of the *Helios* period.

In the realm of the debate in the last years of the century between materialism or utilitarian democracy on the one hand and Idealism and spiritual values on the other, José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel*, published early in 1900, became an overnight success. G. Brotherston's edition of *Ariel* (Cambridge 1967) convincingly argues that the struggle between Caliban and Ariel in Rodó's essay belongs not to Shakespeare's Elizabethan age but to the nineteenth century. In *Ariel* Rodó was to postulate a division between the aristocratic and democratic schools of thought, which was, in essence, an attempt to grapple with the question of the individual and the mass. When Rodó cites and studies writers like Carlyle, Emerson, Comte, Taine, Nietzsche, Ibsen or Renan, all of whom preached a doctrine of 'spiritual' heroism in the purest sense, one is struck by the fact that there was a marked predilection for this type of confessional writer in Cataluña and Spain. In this Juan Ramón was no exception. His library in Moguer contains the works of these and similar writers. Subsequently in essays like *Política poética* or 'Aristocracia y democracia' Jiménez seems to be arguing along similar lines to these 'northern' confessional writers and proposing a lifestyle of individual self-elevation and leadership, heroism in the purest sense. He combines this with a marked moral and ethical integrity which, while taking into account the needs of others, would remain a central guiding principle for life. Alongside this went the fear and often disgust with the harmful effects of mass movements, political, social, religious or ideological, on the cultural integrity of the individual. For Juan Ramón, like Rodó, an amorphous mass, blinded by utilitarian concerns or expedient panaceas, offered a permanent threat

to the spiritual aspirations of man. Above all it stifled man's intellectual excellence. Rodó's statement that 'a medida que la humanidad avanza, se concebirá más claramente la ley moral como una estética de la conducta. Se huirá del mal y del error como de una disonancia; se buscará lo bueno como el placer de una armonía' links Jiménez's own personal 'essay on man', the *Política poética*, to those currents of the 1870s described earlier which had fermented in the classrooms and the *tertulias* of the Krausists. Indeed, Rodó's suggestion that the highest human faculty is an aesthetic one, that morality is dependent in the last resort on beauty with the rider that beauty is not the property of the majority but the preserve of the select minority, combines the strongly ethical cast of Krausist aesthetics with the post-Romantic doctrines of the *modernista* 'inmensa minoría'.¹¹

Jiménez may have read *Ariel* at this time. Darío and Villaespesa would have enthusiastically spoken of it. The latter, after all, operated a one-man clearing house for the dissemination of the most recent publications of Latin American writers. Jiménez, as we know, was later to meet and correspond with Rodó.¹² There are distinct similarities of attitude between the two writers that may be more than like minds working separately in a similar intellectual climate. One passage in *Ariel* illuminates the gradual shift in Juan Ramón's development from the post-Romantic histrionics that he copied from Villaespesa (and was later to disown) to the poetry of inner regard and spiritualised self-contemplation that was to achieve its finest expression in *Arias tristes*. Jiménez, deep in the toils of his own ideological preoccupations, was working his way towards some comforting principle that would provide a lasting vital support. Rodó's relegation of the ethical principle to a by-product of aestheticism would have offered an attractive proposition to Jiménez's inclinations and intellectual training. And it was to refined aestheticism that Jiménez turned, the ivory tower of the aesthete.

3. *Axël's Castle*

In his critique of *Prosas profanas* in 1899 Rodó censured Darío for his decadence, his affectation of artificiality, elegance and aristocratic airs. He offered in their place a wider interpretation of *modernismo* and concluded by identifying the word with his own 'ideal optimism' (O. C., 187). Yet for all the 'concepciones más altas' looked for in *Ariel*, Rodó shows all the signs of doubt and inner division. While

Rodó's 'estética de la conducta' may contain the evolutionist utopianism and the moral and ethical emphasis of nineteenth-century thinking (and for Jiménez such an ideal would have proven congenial given his education under Federico de Castro), the fable of the oriental monarch also includes the notion of retreat which is none other, as Brotherston has indicated, than the *reino interior* of Modernism and the Axél's Castle of Symbolism. The in-built element of escapism is symptomatic, of course, of the metaphysical doubt, the insecurity and isolation experienced by many of the Spanish and Latin American writers of the *fin de siècle*. Whatever view was taken of Rodó's polemical essay one passage at least would have struck a sympathetic chord in Jiménez's mind. It expresses succinctly the temper of the age. It also points to the significant change in the outlook of the major strain of *modernismo* in Spain that was to occur in 1902. If Juan Ramón was to recognise that everything had changed when he returned from France in the autumn of 1901 Rodó's view of the interaction between insight and the artist's spiritual needs was to offer a shrewd forecast. Jiménez's description of exotic and sensual worlds created by the poetic imagination were freely plundered. The writers he imitated were more concerned with the sensual, visual and plastic effects of Beauty and the idealised world of the imagination than attempting to capture something of the etherealised inner landscapes that we associate with Bécquer or the German Romantics. Rodó's description of the *reino interior* and the 'misteriosa sala' seem to combine both aspects. It is possible that Rodó's reference to Uhland was to lead Juan Ramón to read his verses, though we know that Jiménez had already read Heine and other German Romantic writers. Heine, of course, combined exactly the twin themes of insight and desire for an allusive expression with the search for a consoling *reino interior* just as Uhland offered a fusion of mystery, spirituality, aesthetic perfection and religion. When Salinas argued in *Literatura española siglo XX* that the *modernistas* fed themselves on the 'narcotic' of poetry as an escape from the pessimism of the *derrota* of 1898 (36—37) he overlooked the fact that the spiritual crisis had had a longer history. Nevertheless the recognition of the interdependence of *angustia* and the *reino interior* is important. Rodó, too, was to perceive the pernicious effects of doubt and scepticism on young thinking minds. His thoughts deserve to be quoted at length.

Yo sé bien que las notas de desaliento y de dolor que la absoluta sinceridad del pensamiento . . . ha podido hacer brotar de las torturas de nuestra meditación, en las tristes e inevitables citas de la Duda, no eran indicio de un

estado de alma permanente ni significaron en ningún caso vuestra desconfianza respecto de la eterna virtualidad de la Vida. Cuando un grito de angustia ha ascendido del fondo de vuestro corazón, no lo habéis sofocado antes de pasar por vuestros labios, con la austera y muda altivez del estoico en el suplicio, pero lo habéis terminado con una invocación al ideal *que vendrá*, con una nota de esperanza mesiánica.

Todo problema propuesto al pensamiento humano por la Duda; toda sincera reconvencción que sobre Dios o a la naturaleza se fulmine, del seno del desaliento y el dolor, tienen derecho a que les dejemos llegar a nuestra conciencia y a que los afrontemos. Nuestra fuerza de corazón ha de probarse aceptando el reto de la Esfinge, y no esquivando su interrogación formidable. No olvidéis, además, que en ciertas amarguras del pensamiento hay, como en sus alegrías, la posibilidad de encontrar un punto de partida para la acción, hay a menudo sugerencias fecundas. Cuando el dolor enerva; cuando el dolor es la irresistible pendiente que conduce al marasmo o el consejero pérfido que mueve a la abdicación de la voluntad, la filosofía que le lleva en sus entrañas es cosa indigna de almas jóvenes. Puede entonces el poeta calificarle de 'indolente soldado que milita bajo las banderas de la muerte'. Pero cuando lo que nace del seno del dolor es el anhelo varonil de la lucha para conquistar o recobrar el bien que él nos niega, entonces es un acerado acicate de la evolución, es el más poderoso impulso de la vida; no de otro modo que como el hastío, para Helvecio, llega a ser la mayor y más preciosa de todas las prerrogativas humanas, desde el momento en que, impidiendo enervarse nuestra sensibilidad en los adormecimientos del ocio, se convierte en el vigilante estímulo de la acción.

En tal sentido, se ha dicho bien que hay pesimismo que tienen la significación de un *optimismo paradójico*. Muy lejos de suponer la renuncia y la condenación de la existencia, ellos propagan, con su descontento de la actual, la necesidad de renovarla.¹³

For Rodó the scepticism of the age was only a temporary phenomenon. The cry of anguish of modern art was the clarion call of the new idealism of the future, the evolutionary power of a spiritual progress offered by 'northern' writers like Ruskin, Carlyle, Nietzsche and others. The sceptic must therefore develop a positive attitude to *dolor*, he must confront the enigma, reject nihilist defeatism. Like Nietzsche, the mentor of the generation who came from the north, he looks to a virile confrontation with the metaphysical questions of the hour. Rodó's statement seems, in some measure, to echo the partisan cries of *lucha* of Villalpessa and those verses and prose passages of Juan Ramón influenced by him. Yet the confrontation with the fatal enigmas, the conversion of anguish into a positive aspect of mind had already become in Spain something other than the spiritual revolution that Rodó looked for. If Rodó echoes Unamuno's statements on the subject, the essential difference between the Spanish *modernistas* and Unamuno is to be found Rodó's own ambiguities in *Ariel*. It lies pre-

cisely in the surreptitious aesthetics in the third part of Prospero's speech. The 'estética de la conducta' might be meant to develop a new psychological integrity. What it also brought was the naturalisation on Spanish soil of the Axël mentality. Jiménez was only one to suffer such an influence. The *reino interior*, already suffused with nostalgia and vague doubts, becomes increasingly more Decadent. Yet the exotic trappings are cast aside; the poet quests within himself, into the labyrinths and galleries of the mind, rather than the transcendental worlds of the imagination distant in time and space. The anguished mind becomes the centre of attention, the suffering spirit the stuff of poetry itself. Rodó was to address himself to those who aspire to 'la armoniosa expansión de nuestro ser en todo noble sentido' and exhort them to consider

al mismo tiempo en que la más fácil y frecuente de las mutilaciones es... la que obliga al alma a privarse de ese género de *reino interior*, donde tienen su ambiente propio todas las cosas delicadas y nobles que, a la intemperie de la realidad, quema el aliento de la pasión impura y el interés utilitario proscribte: la vida de que son parte la meditación desinteresada, la contemplación ideal, el *ocio* antiguo, la impenetrable estancia de mi cuento.

(42)

Yet the ethical Beauty of that programme was to become something other than Rodó had imagined. The aesthetic side gained the upper hand to the detriment of the ethical dynamic. Ultimately, as we shall see, it was the ethical aspect of the pursuit of Beauty which was to prove the more powerful in shaping Jiménez's outlook.

In 'Ofertorio' and poems like 'Quimérica' and 'Aurea' Juan Ramón seems to be describing the magical and allusively inviolate chamber of the Ideal. The strong similarity to that secret retreat and inner sanctum which appears in Rodó's story of the palace of the King of Thule is marked. Villaespesa and Darío were to write poems under the title 'El reino interior'. This suggests that the theme was already established in the poetic canon of *modernismo* as it was understood in Madrid in 1899—1900. Rodó, too, may have provided a model which was at one moment exotic, artificial and Decadent, at another allusive, magical, dream-like and inward seeking. Rodó combined Reina's enchanted gardens or Díaz's palaces of ice with Axël's castle.

IV. THE PIËREAN SPRING

1. *The Master*

Darío, too, may have appeared to point both ways in the view of the young Juan Ramón who, in his own words, 'lo adoraba desde lejos' (CI, 48). The more obvious influences of Reina that have been overlooked in favour of the generally agreed greater impact of the Nicaraguan should not lead to the opposite extreme of totally neglecting the debts Jiménez owed to the 'maestro'. Some assessment of the influence of the man whom Juan Ramón called 'la cabeza evidente, el conjunto, la síntesis, *el modernista ideal*', who 'influyó en todos nosotros' (CI, 70) is called for. Carlos Lozano disagrees with Cernuda with regard to the influence of Darío. '[E]s que a su regreso en 1899, su nombre casi dominaba el ambiente literario en España'.¹⁴ For Díaz-Plaja, Darío was the "acontecimiento generacional" del Modernismo'.¹⁵ Accordingly he sees Jiménez's juvenilia in terms of Darío alone. While this is an extreme view there can be no doubt as to the importance of the impact of Darío. It was probably Darío who seemed most satisfactorily to combine the allusive suggestive qualities of art and the sensual apprehension of Beauty. In 'Invernal' (*Azul . . .*), for example, we find all the sensuous beauty and fevered eroticism of Reina's best verses. At the same time the passionate embraces are accompanied by an insistent theme that etherealises their carnal aspects. While the world of the poem is artificial, man-made, by contrast with the inclement natural world outside (marking the superiority of Art over Nature) the Decadent motifs are restrained by Symbolist suggestiveness. Darío has returned to the ethereal kisses and the 'daughter of light and perfume' of Bécquer's *rimas*. The Decadent Chimera has become the 'vano fantasma de niebla y luz'. In 'Autumnal' the Bécquerian tone is patent from the outset. Yet the stamp of the most recent developments of the *fin de siècle* is soon in evidence in the fairytale theme, the mountain-top vision and the gradual penetration through the veils of 'azul' to the central core of the world of 'El Ideal'. Darío and Jiménez occasionally reach the final moment of transcendent wonder where the last veil 'que nos cubre las ansias infinitas' is to be drawn aside. As for Bécquer, however, the experience is unutterable. Darío's

¡Oh nunca
Piérides, diréis las sacras dichas
que en el alma sintiera!

echoes Bécquer's first *rima* and, in its turn, is echoed by Jiménez's

pero el harpa miserable, no entonaba las endechas
que en las sombras de mi mente con dulzuras resonaban . . .

Darío employs Bécquerian expressions of shimmering and discontinuous movement, images of light and perfume, images which are blurred and hazily indefinable, simile rather than metaphor. Yet we also find exoticism and sensuous and plastic imagery. In Jiménez, too, we discover a similar combination. In 'Ofertorio' the exotic sensuality of Darío and Reina are combined with the suggestive intimacy of Bécquer and the truly *interior reino* of Rodó. At times the Ideal is to be found amid evening shadows and mists, at others amid the luxuriant foliage, the ornate architecture and the filmy garlands that swirl about the naked limbs of alluring ondines and nymphs. It is also to be found in a secret inner sanctum far from the gaze of the profane and the uninitiate. While Jiménez had probably first found the ubiquitous term 'azul' in the poetry of the Restoration poets — Grilo, Balart, Gil — a major shaping influence (besides Reina and Bécquer) was clearly Darío.¹⁶ Jiménez has given fairly precise details of how after reading various poems in literary magazines he came to recognise an affinity with Darío's artistic idealism. Although the incident was recalled with considerable hindsight his memoir still affords a measure of the enthusiasm which the young poet felt on the receipt of the celebrated card from Villasespa and Darío (*TG*, 223). The ingenuous 'sensaciones' that Jiménez sought in his juvenile poems are a practical demonstration that he had begun to follow the idealistic aesthetics of Darío. In the final paragraphs of the *Elogio* he had proclaimed his fervent support for the artist whom Darío was to call 'el primero de los poetas'. With reference to Valera's famous *Carta americana* on *Azul* . . . Jiménez noted

Valera dijo que no estaba conforme con la frase del emperador Hugo: *L'art c'est l'azur*, y que la creía enfática y vacía; yo, en cambio, la creo suprema, la considero síntesis completa del todo Arte. Entendiendo que así mismo pensarán los que sientan el verdadero ideal artístico y no de los ideales relativos . . . (*LPr*, 213)

The persistent references to 'soñadores' clearly echo Hugo's aristocratic and quasi-religious concept of the artist. In essence 'Ofertorio' and associated poems attempt to give an account of the experience of the true poetic element — Hugo's *rêve* —, the vision of an ideal spiritual world which the poet, because of a special sensitivity, is privileged to glimpse. The key themes of dream and dreamers are, ultimately,

Hugoesque. There are, however, more self-conscious imitations of Darío's glosses on Hugo. It may be that these poems were written when Juan Ramón had a more thorough acquaintance with the Nicaraguan's work towards the end of 1899. As the poet's imagination journeys through 'l'azul' to enter enchanted heavenly gardens in a state of 'ensueño' and 'éxtasis' the glimpses of the elusive spiritual realm begin to take on the colours of Darío. The impact of the latter's *Azul* . . . , and 'El velo de la reina Mab', 'Autumnal', 'A una estrella' and 'El Ideal' in particular, are in evidence. By 1900 the 'azul' theme had become a *modernista* commonplace. Yet there still remains the central dynamic of Hugo's desire for escape from a reality which proves uncongenial to the artistic sensibility. As G. Lemaître has shown in *From Cubism to Surrealism in French Literature* (New York 1967) there lay in the very centre of Hugo's probing of the mysteries of the imagination a fearsome recognition of the nothingness which lay at the centre of things (23—30). In the same way Darío and Juan Ramón felt the same sense of void and disillusionment and reacted in a like manner to seek the comfort of a superior world unprofaned by vulgar gaze where some absolute value seemed to reside.

2. 'Admirables genios'

Jiménez's close acquaintance with the new trends, probably by way of the magazines which regularly published poems by the emergent Latin American poets, was further increased by his correspondence, and subsequently by acquaintance with Villaespesa. The latter operated a one-man clearing house in Madrid for the new ideas, corresponded with most of the Latin American *modernistas*, and sent Juan Ramón 'un montón de revistas hispanoamericanas'. Thus in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule* Jiménez could speak authoritatively of the 'admirables genios' he had recently read and praise their idealism and their progressive aesthetic attitudes. Even a cursory glance at Jiménez's metrical experiments would confirm the influence of Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, Guillermo Valencia, José Asunción Silva, Leopoldo Díaz and Rubén Darío. On the problem of themes and images the question of influence is more problematical. It is difficult to be precise concerning influence when so many themes, images and motifs became the stock-in-trade of a group of artists with a common outlook. It is this very difficulty which has led critics to give the name *modernismo* to a whole heterogeneous movement which embraces two generations and two

continents. Jiménez's juvenilia draws on a common stock of artistic devices. What is of more interest is the beliefs which inform them. Thus the themes of 'religious' initiation and love embraces in enchanted worlds of the imagination may suggest Jiménez had read the poems of Gutiérrez Nájera, Casal, Reina, Darío or his new companion Villaespesa. Similarly the aggressive promotion of Beauty as the one eternal absolute suggests Gutiérrez Nájera's 'Non omnis moriar' or Casal's 'A la belleza'. There remains more than fortuitous coincidence of themes. In essence Jiménez has identified with a common aesthetic that is rooted in a common ideology. Gutiérrez Nájera's affirmation in 'Non omnis moriar' (1893)

porque existe la Santa poesía
y en ella irradas tú, mientras disperso
átomo de mi ser esconda el verso
¡ no moriré del todo, amiga mía!,

or the evangelical declaration that art is the one true way in Darío's

el arte puro como Cristo exclama:
ego sum lux et veritas et vita

and the deliberate assertion of Art as a consolation in 'Yo soy aquel' are rooted in a common view of the world. That view Gullón has termed '[l]a convicción de que la poesía, la obra, es el último baluarte, el único reducto invulnerable del ser (contra la aniquilación) les hizo dedicarse con plenitud de esperanza a la invención salvadora' (*Mod*, 24). The major features of the Modernist *Weltanschauung* — spiritual anguish and the beguilement of Art — are a familiar conjunction of themes which began in the heart of the Romantic movement.

V. 'EL COLORISTA NACIONAL'

1. *¿Qué es el modernismo?*

In terms of the larger concept of *modernismo* as an overall movement Rueda, as a supposed founding father of the movement along with Darío, must occupy a place apart. There has always been considerable confusion over the roles of these two contenders for the title of 'first modernista'. D. F. Fogelquist has argued that there is a closer relationship between Jiménez and the Modernists or Juan Ramón and the poets

of the 1860s than between Rueda and either of these groups (*EAAE*, 103). While Max Henríquez Ureña might argue for a common bond over the question of metrical experimentation,¹⁷ his argument takes no account of the fact that metrical innovation had begun long before the advent of Rueda and his esoteric theories concerning 'natural rhythms'. A finer critical procedure is necessary if we are to describe accurately the history of literary developments of the *fin de siècle*. Each stage of the on-going process is termed Modernist. The question is what type of *modernismo* are we talking about? When we talk of the Juan Ramón fascinated by the verses of Darío or the Juan Ramón whose mind sang with the haunting melodies of the Gallician poets or the lilting *rimas* of Bécquer we are observing a young man who was attracted to the whole gamut of new poetic forms but was, as yet, undecided which of them he would cultivate exclusively. Such is the case in his relationship with Rueda. But Rueda, as we shall see, was to be a special case. After the journey to France Jiménez underwent a considerable change of heart *vis à vis* the Modernism of 1900. Rueda's *colorismo* did not survive. The union between the *malagueño* and the *moguereño* was only the briefest of honeymoons. This is not to suggest that Rueda had no influence at all on Juan Ramón as a number of recollections and an essay written in memory of an erstwhile friend show all too clearly (*CI*, 55—59; *TG*, 219—20).

Cernuda once observed that Manuel Reina and Salvador Rueda initiated 'una tendencia poética encaminada a realzar las cualidades plásticas, forma y color, del verso'.¹⁸ He went on to make three major points. First that '[m]ás que ahondar, el caudal poético lo adelgazan. . . . Se detenían en lo externo y ornamental, sin llegar ni pretender llegar al alma misma de la poesía, exactamente como el modernismo americano'. This, of course, would explain Jiménez's rejection of Reina's style for *poesía de tono menor*. While Reina has close links with Rueda's *colorismo*, Cernuda is, as we have seen, incorrect in assuming that the artificiality of Reina belongs exclusively to *modernismo colorista*. The vital outlooks of the two men could not have been further apart. Second, Cernuda argues that Reina and Rueda have been unjustly underestimated and lastly, that their Modernism and that of the South American poets showed an 'amaneramiento increíble, además de su fe ciego en la emoción como fuente de poesía, de donde procede el carácter invertebrado que presenta su obra, ya que es la imaginación sola quien construye la informe materia emotiva' (179—180). Jiménez's gradual intellectualisation of poetic emotion following the return from France was to recognise this truth.

In the poetry of Rueda we find again an exaltation of the erotic, the sensual and the carnal. In *Himno a la carne* (1890), for example, we find a series of sonnets dedicated to the theme of the delights of the flesh. In his *bajo relieves* and *estampas* as well as in poems like 'El Friso del Partenón', 'Bailadora', 'La Venus de Médicis', 'Mujer artística', Rueda paints word pictures which have all the sensuality of a Darío or a Reina. 'Mujer de heno', for all the classical dress, is frankly erotic. Rueda, more than any other major poet of the 1890s, was probably the most informed reader of the Classics and of Anacreontic poetry. In the resounding hexameters and the bucolic description of the sensuality of the countryside the influence of Virgil, Anacreon and Horace are especially noticeable. We know that Rueda received an education based on Latin authors and that he had read the Spanish pastoral writers of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.¹⁹ However, there remains a fundamental difference in outlook between Rueda and others of his generation.

2. *Two Versions of Pastoral*

In essence Rueda's outlook is Christian and orthodox. Rueda's sensuality is not linked with the existential anxiety of the age. It belongs to that eighteenth-century Anacreontic tradition which was continued in the nineteenth century by Arolas and Zorilla and passed on to the 1880s by Eusebio Blasco. By contrast with the Decadence of Reina and Darío, Rueda's poems are an expression of the vital throb of energy which their author perceived latent in nature and the universe. In many ways Rueda took the Romantic belief in an animistic universe expressed in collections like *Les Contemplations* and *Les Rayons et les ombres*, and carried their meaning to a logical conclusion. Nature in Rueda's verses has not only an outward show of brilliance and colour, but within nature itself Rueda sees an inner structure of harmonies and forces which are the measure of the divine inspiration of the Universe. But within the centre of Rueda's universe we find not nineteenth-century Platonism but the Platonism of the Age of Reason. In this world, he wrote in the 'Nota del autor' there is a divine pattern, an ascending scale of creation and, on high, above the long chain that stretches from the lowest to the highest form, sits God Himself. Thus Rueda looks back to the easy-going rationalism and the doctrine of 'sufficient reason' and 'sufficient knowledge'. There are superficial resemblances between Rueda, Reina and Darío. Yet the fundamental

ideological ground is different. Rueda's themes, the brilliance of his verbal effects and the power of his rhythms may have been influential on younger *modernistas* like Juan Ramón or Villaespesa. The basically orthodox sentiments which he expressed could never be acceptable to those who held no trust in or felt out of sympathy with traditional metaphysical and religious explanations. This is why by 1907 there appeared an outright attack on the 'viento helado de tristezas y de disgusto del vivir por las capas todas de la atmósfera social . . . tristeza universal'.²⁰ Others condemned the unorthodox mingling of sexual and mystic terms or themes. Two years earlier Rueda had sided with Emilio Ferrari's anathema of *modernismo*.²¹ By then he was totally committed against what, for me, is the authentic manifestation of *modernismo*: that which voiced the genuine legacy of Romantic spiritual unease; that which had reacted to insight primarily through the vital lie of art. Rueda's poems show none of this specific current of on-going scepticism. They do not depict transcendent worlds distant in time and space or attempt to portray the fairy-tale and enchanted realms of the imagination. Rueda does not tread the Decadent marble halls, triclinia, temples or palaces that are evoked in the poetry of Jiménez, Reina or Darío. He does not give himself over to spiritualised erotic embraces in an atmosphere of suffused prismatic light and perfumes. Rather he recreates the reality of the *mediodía* about him in terms of a lost Arcadia, an Ancient Greece which in reality is a model for the Spain that he would like to see: a Spain of pastoral tranquillity and beauty, a Spain certain in its beliefs and orthodox in its worship of God, a Spain that looked back to reaffirm the outlook of its great past. Hence his admittance to Valera's circle. Although the real world is presented in an idealised and tidied fashion, without its warts, although Rueda's Greece is a measure of the influence of the muscular and idealised Greece of Gautier's *Émaux et camées*, (which collection Rueda unashamedly glossed in his own *Camafeos*), his world belongs to reality in the 'naturalistic' or 'realistic' manner of the literary philosophies of the Restoration. He sees his *mediodía* through the same distorting prism as does Fernán Caballero. It is the Andalusian version of Pereda's native Montaña. *Colorismo* is a Modernist version of *costumbrismo*.

Rueda had become aware of the fundamental differences between his own view of the world and that of his contemporaries in the new movements that were to become *modernismo* as early as 1892. His outright censure of them in 1905 marks the inevitable severance of any ties that ever existed between the two contending forms of what

critics, all too readily, unite under a general label. In truth, those various strains are basic constituents of what was a sincere attempt by the poets of the 1890s to forge a new art form distinct from the trite and precious sentimentalisation of bourgeois taste or the stirring rhetoric of post-Romantic grandiloquence. Yet they are separate strains of a larger movement and should not be confused the one with the other. If Reina represented *premodernismo decadente*, Rueda belongs to a separate though related development: *modernismo colorista*.

The dancers in Juan Ramón's 'La canción de la carne' seem to be modelled on Rueda's 'El friso del Partenón', 'La bacanal (desfile antiguo)' or 'Marmóreos'. The depiction of the 'bacantes' as 'vivientes estatuas de nieve . . . de marmóreos pechos, de muslos pentélicos, de espaldas turgentes, ebúrneas' has all the apparent Parnassian overtones of Rueda's *Camafeos* as well as overtones of Darío's 'Recreaciones arqueológicas'. Yet, the ethos of Rueda's Greece is very different from the Greece of the Decadence, of Darío's 'Grecia de la Francia'.²² If Juan Ramón was influenced by Rueda, as he admitted in 1933,²³ that influence is only stylistic. It is not to be found in the basic outlook of 'La canción de la carne' which is a product of the Decadence. If anywhere, Rueda's impact may be found in 'Mayas' (*PLP*, 1471), 'La fiesta de mayo' or 'La cruz abandonada'²⁴ but in a number of superficial, rather than fundamental, ways. In 'Mayas' we find a presentation of hieratic and statuesque figures that resemble the *desfiles antiguos* of Rueda and Darío. Overtones of Rueda's nature worship are present. The most marked influence is to be found in a group of poems which, at variance with the general tone of pessimism and decadence, celebrate by contrast a naïve piety and a basically popular Christian sentimentality. Such is the stuff of Rueda's *costumbrismo*, or, more correctly, *colorismo*. One might say that Rueda's sentimental portrayal of the humble aspects of nature, the peasantry at work, country life in all its many manifestations, is a type of poetic *costumbrismo*. It belongs to that tradition of the specific subordination of the artistic and apparently realistic presentation of a locale and customs to a given ideological end by writers in the 1860s and 1870s. The 'realistic presentation' is refracted and filtered through the prism of religious and politically orthodox prejudices. In *El ritmo* (Madrid 1894) and in the 'Nota del autor' to *Cantando por ambos mundos* Rueda explained that his genuine faith rested on a Providence benevolently and harmoniously ordered. Rueda's sentimentalism, his basic peasant humility, however, allowed no discussion of faith in an intellectual frame. The *cuadro* is presented in terms of its appeal to the emotions and to the eye. In this

way the May religious festival in Jiménez's 'La fiesta de mayo' is strictly *colorista-costumbrista*. The clangour of bells, the procession, the brilliant flowers, the glitter of the crosses in the springtime sunshine, all evoke an immediate response in the senses rather than in the intellect. It is the *show* of religion. The appeal lies in the outward popular manifestation of common values and hallowed traditions. There is no recourse to any rational conviction that the Church can offer lasting comfort. 'La cruz abandonada' has the same effect on the reader. The clue to the 'emotional religion' Juan Ramón expresses (a prolongation of Schlegelian 'religious sentiment' through Fernán Caballero, Zapata, Bécquer and others) is to be found in the deliberate emphasis on the outward sensual aspects: springtime, nightingales, climbing flowers. These are more important than what the cross symbolises. Saz-Orozco has suggested that in '¡Solo!' 'el poeta deja escapar una nota de piedad religiosa sincera. Canta a la Virgen María dentro del tono afectivo y espiritual en que se movía' and points to the 'detalle significativo de devoción a la Virgen María'.²⁵ But this apparently devotional mood is superficial. The description of the procession bearing the *patrona* to Moguer for the *novena* is a simple pendant to the main theme: the contrast of past happiness and present despair. The Virgin offers no religious consolation, no faith in an afterlife for the dead beloved, no spiritual hope for the poet's despair. Rather, as the climax of the poem shows, it is geared to the enjoyment of a Decadent thrill where the dead beloved becomes the Madonna herself. Thus love is spiritualised, mingled with a morbid necrophilia. The poetic Muse becomes the Madonna herself. Underlying this strange mixture of religious sentiment, Decadent perversity, aestheticism and disillusionment there lies the recognition that, although the Virgin of Montemayor will return in procession at the next annual *novena*, his beloved cannot return: Poe's 'Nevermore'. Francisco Garfias' comment that Jiménez's mother would have approved and that 'este poema sería como un bálsamo en el hogar de don Víctor, en donde empezaban a escandalizarse con el tufillo heterodoxo de algunos escritos del joven poeta'²⁶ can only be accepted if the poet's family were genuinely insensitive. The heterodoxy of the explicit overlapping of sensual and Christian love and the frankly unchaste kiss sent to the Virgin cannot be ignored for all of Saz Orozco's desire to find 'devoción' and 'un tono afectivo y espiritual'. Such a poem, unlike 'La cruz abandonada', does not belong to Rueda's *colorismo*.

3. 'La tristeza andaluza'

Most of Jiménez's *colorista* poems were written before his personal acquaintance with Rueda who formed a part of the reception committee on the platform on that April Good Friday in 1900. It would seem that even before this meeting Juan Ramón had already begun to turn away from *modernismo colorista* towards that *modernismo de tono menor* which is the hallmark of the *Helios* period. While the correspondence with Enrique Redel, José Sánchez Rodríguez and the enthusiasm for Rueda's *Camafeos* indicate an early interest in *colorismo*, it is clear that its brilliant effects could never have any lasting appeal to an artistic temperament which liked muted tones and refined sensations. In the epilogue poem to Sánchez Rodríguez's *Alma andaluza* published early in 1900 the fashionable *flamenco* elements have undergone a significant change. The *cante hondo* has become a song of Decadent melancholia; the 'pena' of the *cantaor* has become the 'martirio' of the poet. The sad chords of the guitar echo now with synaesthetic garlands of interwoven sensation and *les fleurs du mal*.

... Aún flota en la azul brisa la doliente poesía
que lleva en sus arpegios Alma de Andalucía,
cual el perfume triste de rosas dolorosas,
encarnado de un cáliz de febricantes rosas ...
Aún palpita ...

... el sollozo postrero
de una copla de amores ... , de una copla de pena,
ahogada en una lágrima, igual que una azucena
rebotante de Sangre ... , igual que un albo lirio
nadando en el espejo de un lago de Martirio ... (PLP, 1501—1502)

Only days after his arrival in Madrid Jiménez wrote to Sánchez Rodríguez of his disillusionment with those who had attempted to capture the 'soul' of Andalusia. He added:

usted es el único poeta andaluz que ha sentido la *poesía andaluza*; la Andalucía de Reina, de Rueda, de Reyes, es falsa: usted sólo ha hecho una Andalucía hermosa, real, melancólica, sinceramente sentida y escrita.

The evidence would suggest that in the very moment of personal contact with the Modernism of Rueda and the *coloristas*, with the princesses of Darío and Villaespesa and the proto-Decadence of Reina, Juan Ramón was already turning away towards a more refined art which was to be transformed by the contact with fresh influences in France. Yet these separate strains were a necessary part of the poetic apprenticeship.

4. 'El color en las letras'

It may be useful to consider why this particular strain of Modernism attracted Jiménez and ask why he never fully accepted its doctrines and aesthetic formulae. Any discussion of Modernism in the 1890s must recognise the *prima facie* case for supposing a plurality of Modernisms. It was the failure to recognise this which led Emilio Bobadilla to confuse *colorismo* with that antagonistic strain influenced by the Decadence. *Colorismo*, unlike the Decadent version, was a home-grown product. In 'El color en las letras' Bobadilla admired *colorismo* when it remained free of sensuality and indecorous themes, but condemned the 'colorismo enfermizo de los decadentes' (*Crítica y Sátira*, 207—08). The basic flaw in his commentary is the failure to distinguish the real centre of the genesis of *colorismo*. The categorisation of Rivas and Zorrilla as *coloristas* suggests that the 'Romanticism' Fray Candil is talking of is that which Menéndez Pelayo called 'historical' or 'Christian' Romanticism, following the guidelines laid down by Madame de Staël in *De l'Allemagne*. The subsequent reference to Verlaine and the Decadence would suggest that he had that other strain of Romanticism in mind which expressed the anguished outlook on life that we associate with Espronceda. The confusion of the two currents in their later manifestations in the *fin de siècle* has obscured the issue. Correctly Rueda inherited that outlook which belongs to Zorrilla's traditional nationalism expressed in the prose dedication to his *Cantos del trovador* (1838—1841). It seems unlikely that Rueda was ever influenced by the French Decadence.

Another difficulty is the label *naturalista* that is often attached to *colorismo*. A number of contemporary critics seem to have been aware of this critical confusion. Alas, for example, in his 'Carta-prólogo' to Rueda's *Cantos de la vendimia* (Madrid 1891) criticised 'la vaguedad de algunos contornos, la exageración nerviosa que en otros clases de poesía lírica está bien . . .; pero no en un libro de versos *naturalistas*, meridionales, que usted quiere que tengan hasta *grecas*. . . [E]spero que usted llegue a dominar la poesía naturalista (que tiene por inspiración la naturaleza)', (17 & 21). Alas' recognition that Rueda had turned genuine realism into an artistic recreation of a Greek Arcadia not only anticipates Jiménez's sharp comments on the same subject (*CI*, 57—58; *Conversaciones*, 104—05), but points to Rueda's rosy-hued view of Andalusia where traditional values are hallowed and the hand of God is seen to move, His wonders to perform. The fundamental difference between Rueda's so-called *naturalismo* (properly

costumbrismo) and the Decadent trends that were entering Spain is made clear in Rueda's profile of Jiménez's friend Pellicer which appeared in early 1900. Pellicer, wrote Rueda, belongs to the *Escuela de color*. 'Color', he went on, 'es transmitir a la obra de arte la real e íntima poesía de los seres y de las cosas'.²⁷ In the second part of the essay Rueda makes an illuminating distinction. Having praised Pellicer's use of popular elements, local dialect and *costumbrista* descriptions he declared:

[J]uro... que la amo mucho más así, sana, iluminada de sol y con los pies apoyados en la realidad de la vida, que a la otra musa inspiradora de la poesía que es trabajo de erudición y de despacho; ... que es elegantísima, simbólica, *barrio latinesca*, y a la cual a falta de un corazón, tiene... la brillantez ofusadora de las substancias *químico cerebrales* de que se compone. La respeto como ave rara de artificial y bellissimo plumaje, pero repito que adoro más a la obra, a la musa de *color*, con su cuerpo moreno, de un moreno condeal como el de ciertos trigos de Castilla. (My emphasis)

Rueda's antagonism to the intellectual art of the Decadence is patent. It is a gauge of the widening gulf between Darío and himself. Rueda remained steadfast in his growing conviction that the *modernismo* captained by Darío exercised a corrupting influence. It will be clear that Jiménez, admirer of Darío and Reina, pursuer of Decadent nuances of mood and perverse cerebral sentiments, would have little sympathy with the outlook of the *coloristas*. Certainly the artificial effects of Rueda's peacocks, his hieratic figures and his over-luxuriant ladies made their impact. That impact could not have a lasting effect, however, since it lacked the subtleties and the introspective rêverie of the Decadence. It was also too traditional in its outlook and took no account of the pervasive anxiety of the age.

5. *The Ideal Melody*

Yet within Rueda's naïve traditionalism there lay an aesthetic which would have attracted Jiménez. In a short passage in *En tropel* (Madrid 1893) entitled 'Color y música' Rueda set out what, in effect, was his *ars poetica*.

El color y la música en poesía no son elementos externos; al contrario, nacen de lo más hondo y misterioso de las cosas y son su vida íntima y su alma.

Todas las cosas cantan un himno a los oídos que saben escucharlo; todo tiene su melodía interna, que no se expresa con notas, pero que hace llegar su canto a nuestro espíritu.

No son, no, exterioridades el color y la música que a todas horas y por

todas partes nos seducen; son hasta causas determinantes de las condiciones de nuestra alma.

Y el artista que se proponga cantar los seres humanos en su estrecha relación con la naturaleza, reconociendo a esta toda la importancia que tiene, ha de hacer de la pluma un instrumento dotado de vibraciones infinitas para recoger tanto matiz disuelto, tanta nota vaga e indeterminada, tanto secreto latido como anima esa grandiosa y secreta sinfonía. (181—83)

These words were published three years before Darío wrote in *Prosas profanas*,

como cada palabra tiene un alma hay en cada verso además de la armonía verbal una melodía ideal. La música es sólo de la idea, muchas veces.

Rueda's belief in an art unrelated to externals would have coincided with Jiménez's attraction to 'lo interior' and 'alma' in poetry. Jiménez along with his contemporaries concurred with the Romantic view most cogently expressed by Hugo that the poet was privileged to be aware of inner spiritual forces. Such an idea was to achieve cogent expression in the *sensaciones* Juan Ramón experienced. Rueda's statement regarding poetic craft and the poem as the ultimate instrument to record the poet's hypersensitivity to the 'vibraciones infinitas' anticipates Gregorio Martínez Sierra's interest in evolutionary spiritual forces in *El poema del trabajo* (Madrid 1898), *Diálogos fantásticos* (Madrid 1899) and *Flores de escarcha* (Madrid 1900). Both writers prepare the way for the growing interest of those artists attached to the *Helios* group, and Juan Ramón in particular, in various fields: German Idealism, psychology, evolutionary theory and the physical sciences concerned with the nature of energy and the atom. Rueda's discourse on poetry has all the references to an evanescent and allusive poetry which Jiménez was to take up in *Arias tristes* as he rejected *modernismo latinoamericano* and *colorismo*. Initially it may have seemed to Juan Ramón that Rueda was carrying on the poetic principles laid down by Bécquer in the *Cartas literarias a una mujer*. He might also have imagined that Rueda's aesthetic in *En tropel* could be the same 'verso' of which he spoke in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule*: '[e]l verso debe labrarse para su eterna duración, mas no en masa, sino en esencia . . . la vaguedad del sueño, la eternidad de los días'. After all, Rueda's 'Río de espíritus' directly anticipates the closing lines of the 'Ofertorio' to *Ninfeas*. He could be forgiven for believing at one stage that Rueda was a poet of the stamp of Silva or Bécquer. Why then does he record that '[e]n conjunto, Rueda me gustaba menos que Rosalía de Castro o que Verdaguer' (TG, 224). Rueda had insuff-

icient powers to put his own declared aesthetic into practice. His gift for metrical experiment, imaginative and striking metaphors, brilliant poetic effects and, above all, the strong rhythmic line ran counter to any art that sought a 'melodía ideal' and a 'secreta sinfonía'. The themes he chose strangely mingle post-Romantic and Platonic spiritualism, nineteenth-century animism, half-digested scientific theory, determinism, optics, botany, *costumbrismo*, political and social conservatism and a piously sentimental Catholicism. Such themes were ultimately to be inimical to any inner probing of the spirit. Another point is that Rueda's work is totally lacking in the metaphysical dimension of genuine anguish. This, above all, forces the poet inwards into introspection of a special kind. It was an experience alien to a man who was as simplistic in questions of faith as Rueda. In many ways Rueda was like Campoamor. Both were in possession of a coherent and consistent poetic theory. Both looked to an art that would communicate the spiritual aspirations of their age. Yet in the event their practice did not match the promise of their theorisations. 'El poeta y la poesía joven', noted Fernández Almagro, 'continuaron marchando. Otros caminos fueron abiertos, en busca de otros colores y luces'.²⁸ Those colours and light effects were to be more muted.

VI. A QUESTION OF PRIORITY

In 1893 Rueda published 'Sobre el ritmo' in *La Ilustración Ibérica* and argued that he and Darío were the only major poets of the age engaged in a revival of the metrical component of the Castilian lyric. Yet the way had been prepared by earlier experimentalism. Experimentation continued in the final decades of the century with Ricardo Gil and Reina. Indeed, the latter anticipated *modernista* visual arrangements of verse on the printed page and the use of coloured printing inks by nearly two decades. These features were employed self-consciously by Juan Ramón Jiménez in the publication of *Ninfeas* and *Almas de violeta*. Others, as Jorge Campos has shown in 'Cuando Juan Ramón empezaba' were already rearranging traditional orthography for added poetic effects in tune with the growing desire for artificiality. In the review of *La copa del rey de Thule* Jiménez seems to have overlooked these earlier advances and drew attention to the fact that in other countries 'venía operándose una evolución en el campo de literatura'. He went on to lament that '[s]ólo las letras españolas

continuaban su rutinaria marcha' (LPr, 208). A careful examination of the evidence will show a misrepresentation of the case. By 1899 the poetic revival that *modernismo* is supposed to have ushered in with Darío's arrival was far advanced in its development. Because of the serious critical neglect of its early stages and the failure to recognise the importance of a number of minor poets in that development the overall picture has suffered considerable distortion. One aspect of that distorted picture lies precisely in the claim that it was left to the young men of the second and final thrust of *modernismo* itself to carry through in 1900 the revolution in the face of the continuing hegemony of the poets of the Restoration. It should be clear at this stage that there is no foundation for such an argument. Campoamor, as we have seen, had already anticipated in the *Poética* and elsewhere a number of the fundamental assumptions concerning the nature of poetry. Núñez de Arce and Manuel del Palacio were being pilloried mercilessly by Alas who, during the 1890s at least, had begun to champion the young writers. The legion of imitators of Bécquer were in vogue and popular ballads were being extensively cultivated. Gil and Icaza had established a *tono menor* art. Decadence in art had taken root. Only in centres like Seville did the barricades of traditional taste and of Neo-Classicism hold strong. Either Jiménez and his associates misread the signs or they consciously misrepresented the evidence to arrogate unto themselves the credit for the revolution in Spanish letters. In their defence it could be argued that as young and inexperienced artists they felt the need to be as bold in the face of hostile criticism as was consistent with the needs of their propaganda offensive. However, as critics we should not be taken in by the shrill cries of either of the contending parties. History should not record the one battle but the whole war. Manuel Machado's *guerra literaria* did not begin in 1898. Spain had been on a war-footing for the best part of two decades.

CHAPTER SIX: NERVE STORMS

I. THE LURE OF REFINEMENT

On 5 November 1899 Salvador Rueda, writing in *Vida Nueva* (Núm. 74) about Gregorio Martínez Sierra, referred to the vogue for *colorismo* he had initiated nearly a decade before and drew attention to a significant new trend.

Como desde hace unos trece o catorce años, nuestra literatura se ha hecho infinitamente más plástica y más pictórica y reviste una forma deslumbrante, cuando aparece un autor de estilo pálido (dicho sea en el mejor sentido), los ojos de los lectores no se fijan en él, escandilados como están con las magnificencias de otros estilos. ... Es [Martínez Sierra] un escritor de un gris perlino como decía Valera, no solamente gris, sino que carece de color ...

Los *escritores perlinos* son más intelectuales que sensitivos, suelen ser hombres cerebros, es decir, hombres que a falta de intuición, reflexionan la pasión, y, bien analizada, la desarrollan en la obra de arte.

Sensual, exotic Decadence and *colorismo* were being transmuted into a more refined art. As early as 1892 in 'La juventud literaria', Alas had already sensed the shift in the wind.

Los espíritus más recogidos, de más reflexión y sentimiento están llamados a gozar la voluptuosidad moral inefable de encontrar una armonía entre las más recónditas *exquisiteces* del análisis psicológico y metafísico modernos con la gran tradición humana del sentido común cristiano

(*Ensayos y revistas*, 396).

The 1860s had seen palpable signs of the emergence of an introspective art associated with a growing sense of spiritual disquiet. From 1883 onwards, González Serrano and many others gave witness to 'una fe invertida', 'la fe perdida', so that the *modernista* 'llega a ser místico secularizado y heterodoxo'.¹ The new dynamic was essentially inwards towards some new 'idealistic' (in the parlance of the age 'mystic') understanding of the world with decidedly refined intellectual overtones. Luis Berisso in a review of Freyre's *Castalia bárbara* was to speak of '[l]a enervante ráfaga pesimista, que sopla sobre todas las cabezas en

este fin de siglo', and to point to a marked cerebralism in art and a desire for exquisite sensations 'reconcentrando el dolor en un verso delicado'. The scene was set for the significant advance which was to take place in the next half decade. Rafael Ferreres' statement that '[l]a nota o matiz predominante en todos los modernistas ... es la melancolía'² concurs with contemporary critics who agreed that, in the toils of existential despair many writers were taking refuge in an art that soothed their spiritual wounds. It was also an art coloured by a decidedly idealistic, intellectualised and refined mode of expression. In this atmosphere Jiménez served another part of his poetic apprenticeship.

II. A VITAL INFIRMITY

1. 'El Dolor resignado de la Desesperanza'

Rafael Ferreres' comment on the 'spiritual aristocracy' of Jiménez is an interesting one for it echoes Darío's comments on the poet in 'La tristeza andaluza' (O. C., III, 892—901).

[S]erá Juan Ramón Jiménez quien se poseione íntegramente del sentimiento melancólico, elevándolo a una categoría de finísima sensibilidad. *Siente la melancolía en su alma como una orgullosa enfermedad o manera de ver, sentir y expresar ... Melancolía y nostalgia, que caros son al Juan Ramón de la primera etapa. Mucho más en él que en el propio Rubén, que intensificó en la lírica castellana esta enfermiza actitud vital.* (op. cit., 69—70)

How 'vital' was that 'enfermedad' and what was the nature of the disease? Juan Ramón recalled in 1953 that,

[n]unca me he sentido decadente de espíritu. Tal vez en mis años de influencias jenerales me contajé de algunos simbolistas que tenían, con la fuerza, como Baudelaire, Rimbaud, por ejemplo, una extrema delicadeza: "Par délicatesse j'ai perdu ma vie", escribió Rimbaud; pero yo no creo haberla perdido y considero la delicadeza como una fuerza ... (CI, 243)

Yet the appearance of *dolor* as a desirable state of mind in Jiménez's earliest compositions is neither a significant advance in sensibility nor an artistic novelty. It had become a central feature of Catalan *modernisme* by the early 1890s and subsequently became the nerve centre of the *Helios* group. The transformation of Art, not only into a beguilement, but into a mirror in which the poet views himself and the projection of his own imagination upon the world was made ex-

plicit in the 1860s and rapidly emerged as a potent motif in the lyric by the 1890s. The artist still looked for transcendent visions but became more concerned with registering the process of achievement and analysis of the creative act. Art became self-regarding.³

Jiménez's admiration for the musicality of Verlaine and Bécquer may reveal something more than an enthusiastic response to the former's 'Art poétique'. Music in the *fin de siècle* came to represent the state of complete 'self-reflexiveness' and self-sufficiency to which all arts aspire. Music, after all, takes itself as a subject. In essence, the question is one of art about art. Even in an age that looked for an art of social regeneration and politico-social issues, Jiménez and his associates would have agreed with Baudelaire's statement in the *Notes Nouvelles sur Poe* that 'le principe de la poésie est strictement et simplement l'aspiration humaine vers une beauté supérieure . . . tout à fait indépendant de la passion . . . Car la passion est *naturelle*, trop naturelle pour ne pas introduire un ton blessant, discordant, dans le domaine de la beauté pure' (V, xx—xxi). Jiménez's poetry shows an identical inclination to present purged emotions, dreamlike languid desire, despair that shows itself in faint sighs, inner spiritual pain and silent tears. For all the Esproncedan recognition of 'la verdad amarga', Jiménez's reaction has nothing of the Romantics' cries of cosmic protest. He views despair in a more detached way rejecting protest in favour of a contemplation of anguish and a rendering into art of introvert moods. This marks one of the essential differences between Romantic and Decadent manifestations in Spain. Witness the careful discrimination made by Villaespesa in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta*. He specifically distinguishes between the twin responses to Romantic insight analysed by Musset in *La Confession d'un enfant du siècle*: Romantic vitalism and revolt and Romantic creative despair:

Es un alma enferma de delicadezas; alma melancólica . . .

Su poesía respira Dolor: no ese Dolor brutal que ruge y blasfema, sino el otro, el más profundo . . . , el inconsolable, el Dolor resignado de la Desesperanza'. (PLP, 1517)

The underlying attitude is one of a wilful and exquisite masochism. The poet clearly takes a perverse pleasure in the fact that his *Dolor* is inconsolable. A special *cachet* is also attached to this form of suffering. 'El más profundo' establishes the superiority of this experience clearly enough. The aristocracy of feeling and the inconsolability of the poetic vision in the face of insight suggests very clearly a similar mentality which is observable in the Generation of 1898. A special pleasure and

a sense of élitism is experienced in the fact that they have confronted the spectre of the unfathomable enigmas. Anguish is bent back on itself to see in it a positive instead of a negative spiritual state.

The nature of the evolution in Spain of this outlook is, as yet, not properly understood. The interest in Baudelaire, Verlaine, Poe, Gautier and the Fantaisiste poets is a symptom of patterns and tastes which were already changing rather than a question of these poets shaping the new developments. Baudelaire was only one of the most important writers to recognise the relationship between the state of emotional prostration resulting from the conviction that no further consoling illusion was to be found and that some form of 'mystical' activity could be found through Art.⁴

Yet the search for the ethereal does not imply that the artist should overlook the mechanics of his art. It is the conscious process of creativity that Baudelaire admired in Poe which inspired his reversal of the Rousseauesque principle of inspiration. 'Autant certains écrivains affectent l'abandon, visant au chef-d'oeuvre les yeux fermés . . . autant Edgar Poe a mis d'affectation à cacher la spontanéité, à simuler le sang-froid et la délibération' (*Notes nouvelles*, xx-xxi). It is on the question of self-consciousness in art that Baudelaire joins his concept of the *dandy* to his aestheticism. The *dandy*, he argues in the essay in *Le Peintre de la vie moderne*, in the *Fusées* and *Mon Coeur mis à nu*, is deliberate and self-regarding in all his actions. This attitude is summed up in the famous dictum that the *dandy* should live in front of a mirror. In fact one could argue that the *dandy's* mirror was Art itself. Thus, if the concentration on workmanship smacks of charlatanism 'un peu de charlatanisme est toujours permis au génie . . . C'est comme le fard sur les joues d'une femme naturellement belle, un assaisonnement nouveau pour l'esprit' (*Ibid.*). Such refinements are best appreciated by the overcivilized or neurotic mind of the Decadent *dandy*. Baudelaire's essays on Poe and Gautier's *Notice* in the Lévy edition of *Les Fleurs du mal*, serve as the matrix for most decadent writing. What many critics overlook, however, is the disease of which the above aspects are in reality the symptoms.⁵ In 'Une mort héroïque' Baudelaire had explicitly associated the beguilement of Art and *angoisse* (O. C., 271). Thus the *dandy* is the artist committed to the calculated recreation of life in artistic terms while racked with 'ennui' and 'spleen'. Alfred de Musset was one of the earliest to give expression to the idea of the artist as self-contemplator and artificer as a means of alleviating the anguish of insight. This may explain the considerable enthusiasm expressed for his work from the 1880s onwards. In the second chapter of

La Confession d'un enfant du siècle having spoken of the metaphysical crisis of the 1830s he analysed the situation confronting the intellectuals of his age to offer two solutions: revolt and despair. His concern is with the latter and 'les esprits souffrants, ... [qui] s'enveloppèrent de rêves maladifs' (with whom he identifies), those who lack the energy to protest. Yet despair is not negative. By a feat of spiritual and intellectual perversity these 'esprits ... trouvaient un emploi de la force inactive dans l'affectation du désespoir'. In what follows lies the nerve centre of the cult of artificiality. 'Et puis il est doux de se croire malheureux, lorsqu'on n'est que vide et ennuyé'.⁶ Barbey d'Aureville, nine years later, was more explicitly to associate genuine *angustia* and the pose of despair in *Du Dandysme et de George Brummell*. This essay appeared in translation in *La España Moderna* in 1892 and was well known in Modernist circles. Jiménez certainly knew the work of Musset and Verlaine whose 'Clair de lune' describes the revellers as 'quasi tristes sous leurs déguisements fantasques'. He added that 'ils n'ont pas l'air de croire à leur bonheur', unequivocal evidence that this special schizophrenic refinement had become the nerve centre of the *poète maudit* mentality. In 1891 Fr. Paulhan commented on this frame of mind in a most revealing way:

Et même on jouit parfois des maux qu'on éprouve soi-même aussi bien que de ceux des autres. Les sentiments de la volupté de la douleur et la volupté de la pitié, dont la psychologie s'est occupée, paraissent décèler parfois une véritable perversion, et contenir comme élément l'amour de la douleur pour la douleur même. Il est des gens qui paraissent prendre réellement plaisir à se tourmenter eux mêmes et à qui quelque chose semble manquer lorsqu'ils n'ont pas de sujet de chagrin.⁷

2. *The Cup of the King of Thule*

This mentality was naturalised in the Spanish lyric by Gil and Reina. The hybridisation of native trends with the more vigorous French growth was to produce a peculiarly hardy form of the *poète maudit* mentality in Spain.⁸ Through the picture of the miserable death of Poe — (the archetypal *poète maudit*) — in 'La última noche de Edgar Poe' (*La vida inquieta*) Reina indulged his own perverse longings. Reina's archetype, 'un ser elegido ... a quien dieron por castigo sensible corazón dados adversos',⁹ was taken up by Juan Ramón. The poet, argued Reina, seeking a balm for his anguish creates Art: 'copas de fúlgidos metales donde vierte sangre de sus venas'. The theme of Christ's martyrdom implicit in these lines is interwoven with that of the cup of

Knowledge of which, in Art, the poet drinks. Jiménez was to admit as much in his review of Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule* (LPr, 210—11). Metaphysical, religious and aesthetic motifs are garlanded together in the image of the Chalice. In the title poem 'Ninfeas' (PLP, 1467) the blood of the poetic martyrdom is implicitly equated with the blood of Christ's Passion spilled in the cup of Gethsemane. At the same time the cup of Knowledge is drunk. Its contents wound the soul. The blood, ('sangrientas penas' and 'sangrientos martirios'), is caught in the 'cáliz' held by the 'encantadas Ninfeas', the modern equivalents of the angels and the swallows in the traditional iconography. In turn they assuage his 'lágrimas rojas' and crown his brows not with thorns but with an 'auréola de Ensueños'. We have here, not a simple parallel between the crucified Christ and the poet, but a much more complex picture where the religious symbolism is used for aesthetic ends and steeped in Decadent sensibility. Two related cycles of the poetic *camino de perfección* are present. In the first a transcendental flight into the imaginative world of Art is sought as a new Absolute in the absence of any traditional vital support. That flight ends in the anguish of insight, an Icarian descent with the martyrdom of betrayal, condemnation and *dolor*. Thus the poet leans the more heavily on the support of Art and the process repeats itself. A parallel circle is described where there is a failure of the artist's creative powers. The poet, victim of poetic impotence, is unable to find the balm or the vital support of Art and becomes again the victim of *ennui* and *spleen*.

The soul overflowing as a result of its hypersensitivity is the theme of 'Ninfeas'. The nymphs of poetic consolation slowly drown in the 'lago de sangre de mi alma doliente' as the port urges them to rise and crown him with the garland of 'Ensueño'. In 'Titánica' (PLP, 1477) (with evident echoes of Leopoldo Díaz's 'El arrecife de las sombras') that lake is lashed by the waves of 'angustias y recuerdos', 'Dolor' and 'Martirio' just as in 'Mis Demonios' (PLP, 1472) the caverns of the 'espíritu atormentado por el anhelo de anegarse en los esplendores de un blanco cielo' are haunted by the metaphysically symbolic 'tres Demonios'. The kisses of the Chimera intoxicate the brain with the sublime madness of 'fiebres quiméricas' but also bring insight and the 'sombras del frío abismo de la Verdad'. Only *dolor* is a constant. Thus Jiménez embraces spiritual pain as the one permanent principle of the poetic experience, the one sure feature that can bring some form of meaning in a world of deceit, betrayal and disillusionment. The poles have been reversed, the negative has now become the positive; a conception à rebours. The victim of *spleen* and *ennui* is beguiled by Art.

But now that Art has failed to yield the consoling transcendent vision it must make art out of its own deficiency. Thus it becomes not an escapist fantasy or transcendence from an inimical world to a sphere of spiritual fulfilment. Art becomes an attitude to life and a programme for living in a world which for the poet seems to have no such satisfying programme. *Dolor* becomes the central affirmation of his role as poet and the distinguishing feature of his superiority.

3. *A Melancholic Mexican*

It was the poetry of Amado Nervo which was to help crystallize this attitude.¹⁰ Nervo, of course, employed all the same artistic subtleties, the same blurred outlines and the quality of mystery and half-light of those poets admired by Jiménez. Their refined, pietistic, aesthetic-ascetic and mystical turn of mind were extraordinarily coincidental. They shared a common admiration for St. Thomas à Kempis and the 'religion of feeling' which Jiménez began to develop more consistently on his return to Madrid in 1901.

In *Perlas negras* and *Místicas* (published in Mexico in 1898 and well known in Madrid) Nervo develops the themes of 'Ensueño' and 'azul', of a 'más allá' which cannot be attained; all Modernist commonplaces. In 'Al Cristo' (*Místicas*) Juan Ramón found a theme which coincided with his own early poems, expressing the Romantic vision of anguish and doubt and the longing for a transcendent ideal. In this poem, as in Juan Ramón's, the gift of Art and special insight is marred by the martyrdom which those gifts bring. Indeed, 'Incoherencias' (*Místicas*), like 'Là-Haut' (*Poemas breves*), specifically contrasts the two irreconcilable poles of intellectual analysis and belief. It is Nervo's plaintive address to 'La Hermana Melancolía' that specifically points towards the direction Juan Ramón was to take. Cast in the guise of a nun 'que pasaba por santa' she is in reality the Chimera in a religious habit as she had been for Samain in 'Sonnet II' of *Au Jardin de l'Infante*. The delicious mingling of religious, aesthetic and pessimistic metaphysical elements is typical of the mentality explored here. So too is the reaction that transmutes *dolor* into a positive aspect of mind.

Hermana Melancolía:
dame que siga tus huellas,
dame la gloria de aquellas
tristezas ¡oh taciturna!
Yo soy un alma nocturna
que quiere tener estrellas.

Within a few months Jiménez was to write 'Inefable':

Es que el alma florece cuando anhela martirios,
cuando amante y rendida se somete al dolor
y desdeña el perfume de los regios delirios
y se eleva al azul delirante de amor.¹¹

Creative despair becomes an ultimate and vital attitude characteristic of the *poète maudit*. Insight, though tragic, differentiates the hypersensitive and disillusioned minority from the mass. Its value lies in the fact that the resolution of the underlying metaphysical problem is left open. Despair becomes a posture which diverts attention from anguish, dissociates the artist from thought and turns *malaise* into an art itself.

III. EPICURES IN PAIN

1. *The Martyrdom of Art*

Art is also a mirror wherein, as the artist struggles towards a transcendent Absolute of Beauty, he watches his every move, analyses his own moods and emotions, probes his mind for rarer and finer states of mind, seeks after more and more esoteric and perverse experiences. In the final analysis the self becomes the object rather than the subject of creativity. While *malaise* becomes an art of living or dying — what Baudelaire called *une douleur fertilisante* — at the same time it is essentially an art about Art. Art has become 'self-reflexive'. Thus, just as Musset's 'Nuit' poems are an analysis of the poetic process, so Jiménez's 'Ofertorios' are poems about the difficulty of writing poems. The artifice of art. This mental and creative balancing act by the *poète maudit*, as Verlaine was to call him and Reina to introduce him into Spain in *La lira triste* in 1885, is, of course, constantly threatened by the drying up of the poet's artistic powers. As well spiritual unease it is also the thought of artistic sterility that haunts the minds of Musset, Baudelaire, Bécquer and Jiménez alike. In a sense, it is from this feeling that the motif of the Muse-Sphinx derives. The Chimera is used specifically as a symbol of the enigma of existence that lures the sensitive temperament towards truths that are all too mysterious and fatal.¹² She comes to represent not only a knowledge acquired in death, despair or madness, but also the inscrutability of artistic expression and the Ideal.¹³ Art becomes both beguilement and martyrdom.

Baudelaire had already recognised the dual aspect of art as *spleen* and *idéal*. In *Los raros* (1896) Darío specifically associated the profession of artist with Christ's martyrdom, a theme quickly adapted by Spanish Modernists. In the same vein Manuel Machado's 'que ser feliz y artista no lo permite Dios' and his belief that the poet was an 'aventurero del ideal a través de las pasiones amargas de la vida rota' (*La guerra literaria*, 116, 117—118), are illuminating commentaries on a mind that, conceiving of itself as near-divine, feels more acutely hostile criticism and social rejection. A sense of failure and self-contempt is felt most keenly when his artistic powers, wherein lies his superiority, dry up. Thus *tormento de mi alma* is at one and the same moment the reaction of insight as the spirit recoils from a vision of nothingness, at another the agony of impotence that cuts the poet off from the realisation of the new Absolute of Beauty in Art. The acceptance of the role of martyr bespeaks an ambiguity of emotion. Alongside the desire to become a martyr for the new faith of Art there lies the transport within that suffering, a subtle beauty in the pleasure at feeling a victim, at the enjoyment of suffering. Many of the Decadents were to become what Praz has called 'epicures in pain' (52). Samain and his imitators were amongst the most successful in expressing such a mood. In much of *pre-modernismo* and in *modernismo* itself purpose and meaning in the universe is supplied by Art. The poet seeks a new faith, faith in the creative act and the role of poet. The acute sensitivity to the hidden mysteries sets the poet apart from his fellows. But the longing for the infinite, the desire to comprehend the enigma of life and the hope of felicity and transcendence through art all too often disappoint the artist. He puts his trust in art only to find that at the end Beauty, too, is Nothingness and that he has been cheated of transcendence, meaning and consolation. Like Christ, he has been martyred on the cross of his faith to discover, in the last moment, the possibility of cosmic abandonment. Thus the problem of artistic sterility and that of meta-physical insight act and re-act upon one another.

2. *Ophelia*

This perverse mentality appears in Jiménez's 'Mística — II'. Here Jiménez's virgin has all the qualities of the 'souls' of the art of the Symbolist-Decadence, of the Pre-Raphaelites and of Poe's heroines.¹⁴ In the Decadent setting of late autumn dampness and mist in a mysterious park, the poet and his muse/beloved give themselves to easeful

and pleasurable suffering. The poet urges his companion to submit to the mood of sadness evoked in the languid, dying and chill effects of the evening which correspond to his own state of mind. But his apostrophe

‘Quiero que te entristezcas, que sueñes con sufrir . . .’

would only be the prelude to a consummation that combines sadness, suppressed sensuality, a longed-for etherealisation of the flesh and the perverse enjoyment of their witness of decay and death in the ‘martirio de la tarde’

‘Y así, los dos extáticos de un mudo delirio,
lloraremos, perdidos en la bruma, el martirio
de la tarde . . . ¡el martirio de su lento morir . . . !

The vision of death has been transformed into pleasurable pain.¹⁵ The terror of death is no more.

Thus the poet sated with perverse, pleasurable grief, yet coldly detached and controlledly self-possessed and self-contemplative does not yield to natural emotions. His beloved must be as unnatural as he. In the unpublished ‘Sombría’ he writes,

Sombraré con un alma que no cante y no ría
y que goce en las hieles de un eterno llorar . . .

Indeed, such is the corruption of natural emotions and feelings that necrophilia and perversity overtake all other preoccupations. Comfort is to be found not in the vibrancy of life, springtime or sunrise but in the presence of death and languid dying effects. In lines reminiscent of Bécquer’s *rimas* LXXIII and LXXVI Jiménez relates in the same poem that

¡Sólo el llanto tranquilo de los fúnebres cirios
inunda mi alma triste de inefable emoción . . . !
¡Sólo en los ojos muertos, sombreados de lirios,
encuentra compañía mi amargo corazón!

In these poems we see the earliest expression of that poetry made out of the sadness of seeing living things which must die. While many poems contain symbols of life and hope and through them Jiménez explores the mystery of time and essence, he comes to recognise that the real meaning of life is to be found by searching among symbols of death and decay. He lacks the directness and simplicity of later examples for the Romantic and Decadent tone dominates. In ‘Hiel’ (*PLP*,

1494), 'Marchita' (1498) and 'Y las sombras . . .' (1511) there is evidence of a love a of *delectatio morbosa*, the enjoyment of the cerebral thrill produced by a delicious flow of gloomy meditations on death and corruption. By this means the sting of death is removed and it becomes not Darío's horrifying vision with 'corva guadaña' and 'faz de angustia' but the Fatal Woman and the Ophelia of Bécquer and the Decadence. As Villaespesa was quick to observe in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta*.

[1]a Amada del Poeta ya no es la casta Margarita del Idilio adolescente. Es Ofelia, loca de Dolor, que se hunde en las olas, coronada de flores exóticas, . . . De sus rizos se escapan las tímidas Almas de las violetas marchitas, y como enjambre de azules mariposas, vuelan a la Vida . . . a embriagar de perfumes sanos a los espíritus melancólicos.

(PLP, 1518—19. My emphasis)

The inspiration of these poems is clearly linked with Musset, Samain, Poe and Rossetti.

IV. THE MIRROR OF ART

Yet the contemplation of the suffering soul has its dangers. The poet's agony is exacerbated by the contemplation of self in the mirror of art. In that mirror his 'self' is protected from despair by self-objectification and at the the same time is swallowed up in the infinity of the endless repetition of multiple identities. As the ontological ground is lost so the artist doubts his powers and his role. He is further imperilled by nothingness and the inscrutability of Beauty. The Decadent aspect is that many poets, including Jiménez, turned the process into wilful perversity. Art becomes a world of artifice, and for the artist, the means to contemplate his own suffering. The artist is a *beautontimorouménos*, as Baudelaire termed him, a self-tormentor and a wilful masochist brooding on his torment and savouring the delicious cerebral pains. Thus 'dolor' becomes a desirable spiritual state, a creative *ennui*. As the artist contemplates and exaggerates the self, he turns that self into an *agnus dei*, a willing sacrifice that is motivated less to save others, more to derive a refined aesthetic enjoyment from a narcissistic self-regard. This process of detached contemplation and refined and perverse sensations derives from Musset's 'force inactive' to produce what Jiménez in the preface to *Arias tristes* in 1903 called 'un consuelo lleno de lágrimas'. In essence it amounts to a form of *dandysme*. A. E. Carter has claimed that the Decadents eschewed inspiration in

favour of cold calculation, whether in aesthetics, literary theory or psychology. 'This insistence on will as opposed to emotion led to a new type of sensibility and the *dandy*, soon to become the decadent, with his self mastery, intellectualism, ennui, satiety and his perverse obsessions' (*op. cit.*, 25. cf. 12, 13, 28, 128). Jiménez was no exception. To let oneself fly on the wings of inspiration was natural, to desire an ardent fulfilment of love or to seek the consolations of Nature was similarly natural — a combination of the pre-Romantic doctrines of Rousseau. The difference between Romanticism and the Decadence, for all the application of the label 'romantic' to much *fin de siècle* art, is not in a changed *Weltanschauung*, which remains fairly constant (if more intellectualised). Rather it lies more in the whole question of careful technique and controlled, deliberate expression and inspiration. The effects are prepared. Will-power and the action of the intellect are brought into play to develop them. As such *ennui* and the perversities that are sought to allay it are voluntary, artificial, decadent. In Reina's orgies and Bacchanals, often set in the Imperial Rome so beloved of Decadent writers, wine is the liquid by which man procures infinity *à volonté* — infinite ecstasy, infinite multiplication of selfhood — and denies 'natural' emotions. In Jiménez the development of the spiritual side of artificiality is expressed in less Anacreontic terms. Jiménez related in the short autobiographical essay in *Renacimiento* that he found alcohol and drugs uncongenial. This is one of the many reasons why he eschewed Reina and Darío's celebration of the elevation of the spirit in the Bacchanal for Samain's and Rusiñol's mystical and melancholy gardens. The cult of the artificial will also explain the considerable feeling of insincerity in much of Spanish *modernista* verse. Despair is often put on like a stage costume. This implies insincerity, artificiality and ultimately the corruption of a corrupt age. Rafael Cansinos Assens pertinently observed of the *fin de siècle* poets of Spain that,

todos los escépticos son criaturas que se reservan, se abstienen, evitan decir su última palabra. Esta contención es la que presta su gesto elegante y de comedia aristocracia y de su punto de fina ironía a la literatura escéptica. . . . Esta abstención les tortura sin duda, pero realza aún más el prestigio de sus figuras pálidas. Constantemente la fe prueba a seducirles, a sacarles del hermético ámbito de su duda, pero ellos se resisten y se esfuerzan por conservar su fino gesto esquivo. Si son poetas, se confinan en un sentimentalismo vago, del que obtienen todos los deliquios que la fe concede a los creyentes: un día sienten veleidades de claustro, y el siguiente se coronan de rosas. Pero pocos son los que llegan a encontrar el nexo fuerte y lógico entre su escepticismo pesimista y el optimismo que es la fe.

(*Poetas y prosistas del novecientos*, 41)

The whole tone of this commentary, and others like it, is one that recognises the loss of vital convictions to imply that the ruling principle is intellectual control. Narcissistic introspection, spiritual masochism, the impassivity and self-mastery of the *dandy*, and *ennui*, are all symptoms of life *à rebours*. The passage echoes closely Gautier's assertion in the *Notice* concerning depravity being impossible for the instinctive artist. If Gautier was, in a sense, articulating the *ars poetica* of the Decadence in France, Cansinos Assens was recording its advent in Spain.

Roger Shattuck has argued in *The Banquet Years* that 'the intimacy of the voyeur relationship to art, watching it from the wings, represents a yearning to be in touch with the subconscious world which produced it. This candidness is turned inward. Interest in the inaccessible resources of the human mind induced the arts to model themselves less and less on the rational polite disciplines of the past' (34). It is in this tendency to aesthetic *dandysme* that the development of Decadent attitudes in Spain can be charted.

V. A FECUND STATE OF SOUL

Like Baudelaire and Samain, Jiménez admired Poe. All these writers despised the materialistic and progressive theories of his age. All, beneath and apparent philosophic calm, held a profound regard for Beauty and the need for its expression in Art. As such *dandysme* is more than the term *dandy* has come to express: a refined taste in dress. 'C'est', noted Baudelaire, 'une gymnastique propre à fortifier la volonté et à discipliner l'âme' (O.C., 1179). Even though they have understood the nature of existence in terms of void and nothingness they keep their will intact and exercise discipline through the artifice of poetry. *Mal du siècle* is more than a gloomy state of mind or a neurosis, it is an approach to life. Musset's 'force inactive' is central to the earliest poems of Juan Ramón Jiménez. If anguished insight, alienation and doubt crowd in then he will embrace that *dolor* and turn it to advantage as a measure of his intellectual superiority and self-control. It is the culmination of Musset's Romantic idea that the greatest spirits must experience greatly.

In 'Salvadoras' (PLP, 1539) Jiménez takes up the traditional and Modernist motif of life as a sea-voyage. On seas of doubt and suffering the poet rejects the struggle forward in favour of the negative therapy:

'la force inactive'.¹⁶ He will embrace what is constant in his life: *dolor*. In turning anguish into a spiritual life-jacket Juan Ramón follows the calculated artifice of the *dandy*. At the same moment he deprives anguish of its sting and asserts a sublime superiority and control. Thus the mask he wears is more than that of the affectation of despair advised by Musset. He confronts *dolor* itself. This shift in emphasis is a mark of *fin de siècle* developments. The conversion of existential anxiety into a creative aspect of mind became part of both *modernista* and *noventayochista* outlooks.¹⁷

¡Penas mías, yo os bendigo!
 ¡yo os bendigo, penas mías!
 ¡negras tablas salvadoras,
 salvadoras de mi vida!
 mi alma es vuestra, vuestra sólo;
 yo no codicio alegrías,
 yo gozo cuando estoy triste,
 es mi llanto blanca dicha
 que me embriaga de dulzuras,
 de gratas melancolías . . . (PLP, 1539)

Such a process had been observed by González Serrano and others. It has been more exactly described by Unamuno who, in part, shared and responded similarly to the same central problem. In *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* he could look back and analyse the process and describe it as 'este nobilísimo, y el más profundo, y el más humano, y el más fecundo estado de ánimo, el de la desesperación'. Later in the same treatise he pointed to the man who 'adopta distintas actitudes y busca por modos consolarse . . . Y han hecho del arte una religión y un remedio para el mal metafísico' (O.C., XVI, 178—179). Villaespesa's reference in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta* to 'el Dolor más profundo' would confirm this viewpoint.

VI. THE GARDEN OF PUNISHMENTS

In the summer of 1900 Jiménez planned a third collection to be called *Besos de oro*. In the extant poems of this unpublished work we find an exaggeration of the perversity of '¡Salvadoras!'. 'Taciturna', for example, begins with the statement that 'Mi alma anhela martirios . . . / se entristece en la blanca alegría / y en las hieles de un llanto halla sólo un sublime gozar . . . / . . . / mi alma ansia la fiel melodía / del sufrir

voluptuoso, del azul e inefable pesar . . .' The poet's soul savours the inverted delights of what amounts to a type of spiritual masochism, the *voluptas dolendi* of the Decadence, in a weird garden of evil. Experience is turned upside down, pain is happiness, sadness pleasure. The moonlit gardens are, like the closed rooms of Mallarmé or the languid dying effects of Samain and Verlaine, symbols of the revolt against life, against effort and the natural. Combined with this cerebral and pleasurable pain Jiménez's gardens have become modified *jardins des supplices* seen through the eyes of a Rusiñol. If in 'Vaga' the moonlit foliage and flowers mingling with the 'flores del cielo, me daban un blanco reguero / de dulcísimo llanto' and 'mi llanto trocöse en sonrisa de inmenso pesar . . .' so in 'Sombría' he states unequivocally that

Yo desprecio el consuelo que a mis rojos delirios
puede dar con sus besos un dulce corazón . . .

Yo guardo en lo más hondo del alma los martirios
y a solas me embriago con inmensa aflicción . . .

Jiménez's '[m]e abismé en el abismo insondable del cielo profundo' in 'Vaga' seems to be less related to the semantics of sceptical Romanticism than an indication of the poet's decision to turn inwards. The theme is taken up again in the narcissistic 'a solas me embriago' and 'en lo más hondo del alma' of 'Sombría'. This inward process of self-contemplation is a device to protect himself from insight and a means to analyse the nature of his suffering as a perverse and cerebralised experience. It is also, of course, a measure of the growing interest in psycho-pathology of the *Helios* group who sought to register more scientifically the delicate, refined and unconventional feelings of the dolorous aesthetic experience. As such Jiménez, like many of his contemporaries, was attempting to put his idealism on some form of scientific footing.

VII. THE CATALAN CONNECTION

Unequivocal confirmation of the penetration of this trend into Spain would be provided by Joan Maragall's review of Santiago Rusiñol's *Anant pel món* written on 29 January 1896 which Jiménez may have read. It makes one of the most perspicacious assessments of the direction of the arts in the 1890s. It also provides a measure of the literary climate in Cataluña which was soon, through the contacts of Darío and

Martínez Sierra, to become one of the central features of the Modernist manifestation in Madrid. Darío had read and Martínez Sierra translated Rusiñol's first *modernista* work. The content of *Anant pel món*, wrote Maragall, is 'triste, atormentado', it contains 'una sensibilidad dolorosa'. Rusiñol interests himself in 'todo lo pequeño de la vida, lo incompleto, lo abortado, lo arruinado; lo que una sociedad robusta y equilibrada echa a un lado y olvida, y unas generaciones nerviosas, hiperestesiadas consideran con amor y con lágrimas, y, trocando los frenos, *hasta enaltecen y glorifican*'. He continued,

[s]i contempla la Naturaleza y los hombres que a solas con ella viven, tampoco se alegran sus ojos de la intensamente misteriosa expresión de la materia inanimada sólo siente el dejo anonadador y triste que conduce a forzosas supersticiones y *las convierte en único y necesario consuelo*...

Del alma humana, lo que enamora Rusiñol son los estados de emoción vaga y depresiva, de atormentada comunicación con lo desconocido... Y hasta en sus recuerdos e impresiones más vivos y concretos, lo alegre y luminoso se tiñe de tristezas y de sombras, ... *el arte del dolor sería entonces el único vivo y verdadero*. (My emphasis)

While he admits that Rusiñol's second *discurso* does not actually express dangerous ideas Maragall is at pains to point out the latent evils *por si acaso*.

Es como expansión de artista entre otros artistas, estimulándose mutuamente al culto del ideal. No creemos que Rusiñol haya querido dar más trascendencia que ésta a dicho discurso; pero si quiso dársela, no podría ser otra que la de marcar una oposición entre el arte y la vida social, o al menos entre los artistas y ciertos medios sociales. Y esto, *como aristocratismo de conducta ideal del artista*, estaría bien; pero, con poco más de alcance que se le diera, *podría conducir a un falso concepto del arte, a una distinción entre éste y la vida, a una especie de arte montado al aire, y reducido a deleitar refinadamente a unos cuantos iniciados*.¹⁸

It will not have escaped the reader that these comments are equally applicable to the *modernista* art of Madrid in 1900 and to Juan Ramón Jiménez in particular. Jiménez evokes 'estados de emoción vaga y depresiva', and many poems express his 'atormentado comunicación con lo desconocido'. In many poems the atmosphere of 'lo alegre y luminoso' of a spring day 'se tiñe de tristeza y de sombras'. 'Tristeza primavera' (PLP, 1524) is only one of many examples which could be quoted. The preoccupation with body and soul is shared in common. So too the close resemblances between 'La suggestió del paisatge' and 'Recuerdos...', 'Tarde gris', 'Paisaje del corazón' and 'Otoñal' (PLP, 1473, 1479, 1495, 1499). The common Byzantine Gioconda-Muse and

the identical idealism as expressed in the Cau Ferrat lectures indicate more than a passing acquaintance with the writings and paintings of Santiago Rusiñol. More interesting than these obvious resemblances, however, is the artistic outlook that underpins them. It could be said, in fact, that Juan Ramón was very much a child of his age in that he partakes of this aesthetic viewpoint. It is also arguable that Jiménez perhaps more than any other writer in Madrid in 1900 (without ignoring Darío or Villaespesa) was to canalise those diffuse currents. In this particular area of poetic experience Jiménez ceases to be an apprentice who is performing the obligatory professional exercises. He becomes the tentative master of his trade in his attempt to reduce the Latin American influence. In the poetry of inner regard and of a 'deleite refinado' he discovers a new lyric expression of Castilian letters which, although very like its Catalan predecessor, was to become one of the most successful and influential of the literary movements in Spain this century. Maragall's diagnosis of the Catalan situation and its close resemblance to the developing situation in Madrid would demonstrate just how complex a picture the genesis of *modernismo* in Spain presents to the literary historian. It also indicates how closely Jiménez was in tune with the most recent developments at home and abroad before he set off for France to write one of the most significant and original works of Spanish Modernism: *Arias tristes*.

CONCLUSION:

THE SEARCH FOR A NUCLEUS

I. AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

In the *conversaciones* with Gullón in 1953 Jiménez remarked, 'se ha estudiado el modernismo a base de clichés, de lugares comunes. Hay una especie de molde, elaborado por las ideas recibidas, y a la crítica le cuesta trabajo salir de ahí, porque suele ser perezosa y no le apetece ponerse a estudiar de nuevo, buscar a los problemas otras soluciones, distintas de las hasta ahora aceptadas' (113). If this was true in 1953 it is no less true today. Despite the excellent biographical work of Palau de Nemes, the indispensable editorial work of Gullón and Garfias, and the critical studies of Cole, Olson, Ulibarri, Predmore, Young, Saz-Orozco and others, the early work has been singularly neglected. Díaz-Plaja's *coordenadas* could not account for the subtleties and the interlocking nature of the early influences Jiménez was supposed to have received. The fundamental question is why was Juan Ramón attracted to the poets and writers he cited in the various autobiographical notes rather than others? The critical task is to reveal why writers of any age accept certain influences, adopt certain techniques, use certain images or employ certain themes rather than others. Furthermore, many critics of the later work are content to make judgements on the basis of *poesías redivivas y depuradas*. A proper critical perspective of Jiménez can be built only on a full assessment of the early verses themselves, the poet's poetic apprenticeship, and the ideas that served to shape his aesthetic outlook.

In the preceding chapters we have seen repeatedly that the major effort of Jiménez and many of his *modernista* friends was directed at exploring the position of the sensitive individual in a world bereft of absolutes. The work of D. L. Shaw rests on the central thesis that the world view of many Romantic and post-Romantic writers recognized the collapse of previously accepted absolute values and traditional modes of thought on which the stability of individual and social life had been supposed to depend. With the emergence of this world view a new age of doubt, anxiety and even anguish, in which we still live,

came into being. His recent study, *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*, suggests that it was against this background that the intellectual formation of the members of that Generation took place, a view strikingly confirmed by H. Ramsden.¹ What still remains overdue is an examination of the intellectual and poetic formation of the one incontestably important poet of the opening decades of the twentieth century outside the '98. This study has attempted to investigate the most basic questions of all: Jiménez's 'actitud ante la vida', the *Weltanschauung* of his Modernist circle, and the origins of the movement in Spain. Both Shaw and Ramsden have worked independently towards a similar interpretation of the '98 and, less fully, of Modernism. Both stress the spiritual problem. Both stress the unsound intellectual arguments used by the '98. Both point to a significant feature in the approach of the '98 to generational problems. Their work reveals that the preoccupations normally categorised as identifying 'generational' features are, in the final analysis, excuses for personal concerns and vehicles for them. The overriding concern is with ideas rather than practical solutions. The principal issue is that of the search for an emotionally and intellectually satisfying life-directing ideal. Ramsden and, to a lesser extent, Shaw have analysed the argumentation of the group to show that it was distinguished by a process of self-deception. Ramsden also relates it with 'an unfailingly recognizable late nineteenth-century European context'. His main contention is that evolutionary determinism should be accepted as 'the basic, *underlying* link between the writers of '98' (*The 1898 Movement in Spain*, 207—208). The central features, then, are spiritual concerns and a deterministic approach to the problem of solving them.

The first chapter has offered a new perspective to the problem of Jiménez's apprenticeship and his relationship with Modernism from the point of view of the first of these features. The interpretation offered brings forward fresh evidence which not only tests the analyses of Ramsden and Shaw but supports their approach. The study seeks to re-interpret their findings in the context of Modernism, to endorse their tentative conclusions with regard to it and to challenge the artificial separation of '98 and Modernism which has been generally accepted among literary historians of Spain. Working from their line of approach the present monograph seeks to question the presently accepted theories concerning Modernism. It aims to show that Jiménez belonged not simply to a historically determined literary movement dedicated to the religion of Beauty and the creation of hedonistic paradises but belonged to a larger European experience which was to capture the imag-

ination of the whole generation. That experience was to shape the way in which they interpreted and tackled their personal spiritual problems. Let us recapitulate the findings of the present study and reconsider the theme of spiritual concerns. We might also broach the question of 'an unfailingly recognizable late nineteenth-century European context', the context of evolutionary determinism. This latter perspective may seem perverse when applied to the aestheticism of Jiménez. It is arguable, however, that he was susceptible as his '98 contemporaries to its influence.

In the light of the evidence we can now dispense with the *clichés* to which Jiménez drew attention. Given that the new poetic sensibility had been recognised and had achieved distinctive expression by the 1880s; Salinas' characterisation of *modernismo* as an 'alcance limitado del intento: la renovación del concepto poético y su arsenal expresivo can be refuted. The wild claims concerning the place of Darío in the formation of the movement in Spain can be qualified. Darío as the complete aesthete and impresario was undoubtedly important. His role was influential but not crucial. Spanish Modernism was not, as Manuel Machado and Dámaso Alonso have stated, 'una revolución literaria de carácter principalmente formal'. Jiménez and his circle were incontestably concerned with ideas. *Modernismo*, like *noventayochismo*, sought for some spiritual purpose in the face of what Azorín was to term 'angustia metafísica' (O. C., I, 694).

Es mal de nuestro siglo', he went on, 'así como de los pasados lo fue la credulidad cerrada, la confianza excesiva en un *ideal*, muerto para nosotros, que no creemos en nada o creemos solo por fuera, que es peor. (O. C., I, 71)

From the outset contemporary critics and historians of *modernismo* have pointed to its 'Romantic' aspects. E. Gómez de Baquero's comment in a review of *Almas de violeta* and *Ninfeas* in *La España Moderna* in 1902 is representative enough:

Los modernistas dotados de inspiración y de talento tienen a veces cierta debilidad por lo estrambótico y lo amanerado, o bien por lo lúgubre, como los románticos de antaño, con los cuales presenta más de un punto de semejanza los modernistas de ahora (169).

Federico de Onís and Juan Ramón Jiménez subsequently saw the far-reaching ideological effects of Modernism in Spanish letters and thought. In 1967 in an article on *modernismo* Shaw suggested that Jiménez was aware of the Romantics' legacy of unhappy insight and thus consciously exalted beauty at the expense of conventional divine

and human ideals ('*Modernismo*', 202). My own work on Darío has confirmed Shaw's thesis that the religion of art was yet another attempt to overcome the general crisis of beliefs and ideals which they inherited in an intensified form from the Romantics. Jiménez's intellectual formation took place against the same background as the men of the '98 and Darío. Just as the '98 or Darío sought reassurance that an unchanging, universal criterion of judgement existed, that there was some kind of normative principle that might give meaning to life, so Jiménez too sought for a vital absolute. As such the major effort of Jiménez and the *modernistas*, like the men of the '98, was directed to the task of exploring the individual reaction to a common spiritual problem. They shared a common point of departure. The aim of this study has been an investigation of Jiménez's early reaction to that problem.

We can now understand more clearly the real meaning of the much-used phrase 'Art for Art's sake'. It is true that the cult of the artificial and the rejection of all utilitarian aims led to the cultivation of Beauty as an end in itself. But we have seen that 'artificiality' in the Decadence was related to a specific spiritual condition. It must be emphasised, then, that the preoccupation was not so much with Art as with the central spiritual problem. The cultivation of Art and the creation of Beauty are resultant upon it. National concerns and the fear of industrialization and mercantilism, too, must be related to the same phenomenon. These preoccupations play a causal part for all the importance attached to them as an excuse for personal concerns and bearers of them. Amid the apparent fragmentation of life and of traditional values and absolutes they all sought a meaningful structure. The starting point is the recognition of the 'honda crisis espiritual' to which both Modernists and '98 allude. Unamuno described the condition in *En torno al casticismo* as 'hervor de descomposiciones y recombina-ciones . . . un desesperante marasmo' and Ganivet in *Idearium español* was to echo him to lament that 'nuestra nación hace ya tiempo que está como distraída en medio del mundo'. The Modernist writers, hypersensitive and idealistic in temperament, looked beyond the bewildering complexity and *sarcasmo* of life to perceive some form and structure of spiritual forces, a nucleus. Art was the tool to give it expression. The cult of Beauty and the search for the Ideal are, therefore, at one moment a beguilement from spiritual anxiety and a product of it in that they enshrine the sought-for nucleus.

Many of Jiménez's early poems are very much in tune with developments already established in the *pre-modernista* circles of the 1880s

and 1890s and reveal a consummation of previous trends rather than anticipate an art of the future. In Spain, unlike Latin America, there was much ground to be made up. This might also explain why Jiménez found the orchestrations of Darío and the Latin American *modernistas* momentarily irresistible. In Spain the Romantic movement had effectively collapsed by the mid 1840s so that when critics refer to the Romantic nature of Modernism they are pointing in effect to the end-process of a slow literary recovery. The Romantic revolution in diction, metrical experimentation and expression was now complete. Yet one aspect of the Romantic legacy remained unresolved: the *sesgo metafísico*. The importance of its impact on Jiménez and its influence on the literary developments of the *fin de siècle* in the light of the evidence above is beyond question. Juan Ramón was clearly an 'hijo de siglo' and an epigon of the Romantics. Yet we also find portents of new attitudes, new insights, new approaches to the intractable spiritual problem. These suggest that the early work rather than being a literary curiosity has a claim to permanent validity. Further, the early work was crucial to subsequent developments. The mature work cannot be properly understood without reference to Jiménez's youthful idealism.

In 1931, in conversation with Guerrero Ruiz Juan Ramón said,

Antonio Machado y yo, tenemos que crear la poesía de nuevo, *crearla*; al llegar nosotros el poeta español es Núñez de Arce, y yo tengo que crear de nuevo la poesía, *crear las esencias poéticas* que luego se han transfundido en toda la obra de los que han venido después; los jóvenes de hoy no saben lo que es encontrárselo todo por hacer, pues ellos han tenido el camino abierto.²

The reference to 'esencias poéticas' and 'lo trascendental del movimiento' may provide a further clue to an understanding of Jiménez's enigmatic proposal of 'otras soluciones' to the problem of the nature and identity of the *modernista* achievement and to the real intention of his art.

II. MODERNISMO AND NOVENTAYOCHISMO AGAIN

Díaz-Plaja's conclusion in *Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho* (1951) that the differences between the two groups are 'algo más que una disención estilística, que una diversa forma literaria; es una radicalmente opuesta actitud ante la vida y ante el arte' (108) is now generally accepted. Yet the view that for the *modernistas* poetry existed

only to produce aesthetic pleasure primarily concerned with the creation or expression of beauty rather than as a method of investigating man's existential situation, a means of access to truth (as in the case of the '98) overlooks the strongly ethical dimension of Jiménez's work and the idealism of those who were to form the *Helios* group. This theme has been underlined in preceding chapters and will be considered more fully here. The question of a common style has already been discussed.

Spanish *modernismo*, despite the aestheticism of Darío, was not a purely aesthetic movement. It had a spiritual purpose. Ostensibly the '98 sought for the regeneration of Spain politically and socially although there is ample evidence that this purpose was neglected for more private concerns.³ Ultimately they sought an ethical absolute to safeguard the direction which their action might take. In effect this remained the only surviving absolute. The *modernistas* and Jiménez, it is argued, sought some validating principle in Beauty and Art.⁴ Because of the nature of Jiménez's intellectual formation he came to view the world in a particularly significant way. He was to look back on this period to see Modernism not only as a singular movement but a cultural watershed which embraced himself, Antonio Machado and Unamuno. Significantly he also related it to the Modernist revolution in theology and Krausism. We might challenge the idea of a whole movement to argue, as this study endorses, that *modernismo* is properly a series of related (though sometimes antagonistic) strains, attitudes and outlooks loosely termed *modernista*. But when we take the two comments together we perceive that Juan Ramón was not making a literary judgement at all. For him *modernismo* belonged not to the language of the literary historian but to the historian of ideas. At the very centre of this dominant ideological movement he perceived a common endeavour to discover a spiritual purpose for mankind. For Unamuno the ultimate task of the writer was to spread spiritual awareness. In an untitled article in *El Sol* of 24 May 1936 Jiménez placed Antonio Machado alongside Darío and Unamuno and asserted that 'en él comienza, sin duda alguna y de que modo tan sin modo, aquella fusión', a fusion of artistic form and existential preoccupation.⁵ It is argued, in the face of most conclusions to the contrary, that Jiménez too achieved such a fusion from the outset.

Eduard Valentí has argued persuasively that the 'spirituality' of the *fin de siècle* originated in the Krausist movement. Jiménez, like Unamuno and Machado, came under its spell. The Krausists postulated a

close relationship between aesthetic experience and ethics, in essence the 'fusión' Jiménez praised. Even Bécquer, the poetic mentor of Jiménez, Unamuno and Machado alike, was not so unaffected by its pervasive idealism when he combined the Idealist notions of aesthetically spiritualised intuition ('la poesía es ... una vaga aspiración a lo bello ... es un instinto') and an ethical dynamic ('una plenitud de vida ... un desbordamiento de actividad moral'). Campoamor, whose aesthetic theories were a powerful impellent to *modernismo*, argued that art offered some form of spiritual order and moral pattern for mankind. Through the examination of his individual spiritual problems the poet comes to understand 'el sentimiento de lo bello [que] palpita en todos los órdenes de la vida desde el instinto hasta el razonamiento' (P, 133). Art reveals the harmonic principle, the pattern set for mankind, 'la hermosura interior'. Sanz del Río would have agreed with Giner de los Ríos' comment in *Ensayos de literatura y arte* that 'el arte ... consiste en el poder de realizarse libre y hábilmente las ideas del espíritu'. The value of art lies in its ability to 'sensibilizar con carácter individual lo infinito en lo finito'. In the personal is to be found the universal. Rodó's association of aesthetic sensitivity and goodness and the deterministic cast of the arguments in *Ariel* are an indication of the impact of mid-century Idealism on *modernismo*.

It is this idea of a bond between the individual and the collective consciousness in art that led Campoamor and the generation who followed him to a scrutiny of the nation's supposed cultural traditions founded on the myths of *Volksgeist* and emotionally or intuitively charged assumptions. Jiménez asserted that he had to create 'las esencias poéticas'. This is, of course, a part of the heritage of Symbolism. It may also be related to the search for purposive ideals which is one of the unifying features of *modernismo* and *noventayochismo*. Jiménez and the men of the '98 coincide with Campoamor in the view that the modern age needs to look back to the cultural traditions of the past. Jiménez and Campoamor's longing to return to the poetry of Jorge Manrique and San Juan de la Cruz is more than simple nostalgia. As for Costa, Pérez Pujol, Antonio Machado y Álvarez or Menéndez Pidal, the art of a nation is a repository of 'ideas' of justice, ethics and moral patterns. For Ganivet and Unamuno, as Shaw and Ramsden have suggested, the preoccupation with the *Volksgeist*, with the *ideas madres* embedded like fossils in the clays of popular literature, folklore and Spain's cultural heritage, is ultimately linked with the desperate search for some consoling myth, some directive ideal that might give meaning to individual purpose. Jiménez's desire to 'crear esencias poéticas' and

the fascination with popular poetry, given his spiritual allegiances, may be interpreted as a desire to express the 'spirit' of a great poetic past within a framework which would also enshrine the individual's intuition of the eternal nature of things, his hypersensitive awareness of 'el alma de las cosas'. This fuses the eternal and the particular, the infinite and the finite, the 'essence' of the traditions of the past and the re-captured 'essence' of the present. It affirms the central tenet of Krausist aesthetics. While the '98 might seek for the 'soul' of Spain in its unique geography and culture, Jiménez seems to have sought for some 'esencia' in Spain's poetic *tradición eterna*. The poetry of the past, especially the *romance*, could be re-forged to speak of the preoccupations of the age and yet echo at a deeper level the eternal poetic voice of Spain. It would affirm an enduring spiritual principle. His metaphor of the *romance* as *río de la lengua española*, echoing as it does the language of geographical determinism and the intrahistoric view of Machado and Unamuno, may suggest that Jiménez was more in tune with the general spiritual aspirations of Spain than any critic has been prepared to allow.⁶

In May 1903 in a review of Valle-Inclán's *Corte de amor* Jiménez seems to suggest that the 'spiritual art' of the present was capable of expressing the 'conciencia colectiva' of Spain's great literary past. Valle-Inclán leaves the reader in 'un ensueño de añoranza de sentimentalismo'. The repetition in his work of an 'evocación de grandezas pasadas, de caballerías viejas', says Jiménez, 'no es fatigosa para el lector'. '[V]iene a determinar, por el contrario, con una gran variedad de contornos y matices, el paso por la vida de unos seres y de unas cosas que al fin se quedan como eternos entre nosotros' (*LPr*, 227). In the reviews of José Sánchez Rodríguez's *Canciones de la tarde* (June 1903) and of Martínez Ruiz's *Antonio Azorín* (July 1903) we find the same theme. In the first the evocation of the sound of Andalusian guitars and the voice of the *cantaor* engender a strong emotional response and 'el alma se inunda de cosas lejanas' (*LPr*, 229). In the second Jiménez finds not only the 'fondo' already discussed in chapter one but a specific 'evocación . . . [que] . . . recuerda las antiguas estampas, las viejas revistas que todos hemos encontrado en los estantes de nuestras casas, esas revistas con grabados de madera . . . periódicos de algún tío nuestro que no hemos conocido . . . esas cartas de personas ignoradas, esos daguerrotipos pálidos, esas cajas de lacre viejo con sus sellos de puño marfil' (*LPr*, 235). Jiménez's admiration for 'lo minucioso' in the work of Azorín is arguably linked with that definition of tradition made by the latter in 1941. It lies 'not in the actions or proclamations of kings

or politicians or generals or bishops — though all these may reveal something of the national tradition — but in the lives and characters of the humble, anonymous, unchanging Spanish people' (*JRUL*, 45), says Ramsden. Azorín would say:

Los grandes hechos son una cosa y los menudos hechos son otra. Se historian los primeros. Se desdeñan los segundos. Y los segundos forman la sutil trama de la vida cotidiana. "Primeros de lo vulgar", ha dicho elegantemente Ortega y Gasset. En esto estriba todo. Ahí radica la diferencia estética del 98 con relación a lo anterior. Diferencia en la Historia y diferencia en la literatura imaginativa. [...] Lo que no se historiaba, ni novelaba, ni se cantaba en la poesía, es lo que la generación del 98 quiere historiar, novelar y cantar. (O. C., VI, 232)

I suggest that Jiménez the Modernist was a member of this generation in that he attempted to cultivate in his own work and admired the cultivation in that of others of 'lo popular' and 'lo tradicional'. Jiménez was not concerned with 'lo minucioso' in the same way as Azorín. Nevertheless, his cultivation in *Helios* and elsewhere of sentimental pictures of Madrid waifs and vagabonds, albeit expressed in the most intense lyricism, belongs to the same pattern. Similarly, his attempts to 'purify' his *romances* and to capture the essence of the folk-poetry of Spain, a process which began in *Almas de violeta* and continued throughout his lifetime, is yet another sign of the same preoccupation. As with the writings of the men of the '98 so with Juan Ramón's review of *Antonio Azorín*, the personal problem of spiritual desolation is transferred into literature. In the opening lines of the critique we find not only this feature but also the implicit acceptance of national characteristics, the 'personalidad nacional'. Spain is sad because the author is sad. As Ramsden has argued, 'the great writers of the 98 Generation ultimately convert Spain, its people and its landscape into extensions of their own individual *yos*' (*JRUL*, 56). 'He aquí un libro que me ha emocionado verdaderamente, con su monotonía y su cansancio', began Jiménez,

porque de esa maldita tristeza española, de esa melancolía de nuestra raza, de que habla tan bellamente Martínez Ruiz, a mí me ha correspondido una buena parte, a mí que he nacido en uno de esos pueblos tan opacos, tan sedentarios, tan melancólicos'. (*LPr*, 233)

One might compare the final words on Moguer with subsequent descriptions of the village as 'la blanca maravilla'. For all their hedonism and aestheticism Darío and Rodó were not so insensitive to the spiritual and intellectual atmosphere of the age when in 'La tristeza anda-

luza' (*Tierras solares*) and in 'Recóndita Andalucía' they argued along similar lines as Jiménez with regard to *his* melancholy and its intimate relationship with the 'pena honda' of the Andalusian *pueblo*.

In 'Poesía y literatura' (1941) Jiménez argued that '[e]n España . . . la verdadera poesía, la única lírica escrita posible la iniciaron, con el sentir del pueblo, los escasos y extraños místicos, cuyo paisaje era la peña adusta y el cielo maravilloso' (*TG*, 41). He implies here some form of *Volksgeist*, 'el sentir del pueblo', and a geographical determinism. This becomes more explicit later in the essay where 'pueblo' and 'paisaje' are bound together in an intimate causal relationship.

El pueblo, como un río total, ha andado siempre por debajo, regando con su sangre jenerosa y escéptica esa enorme frondosidad visible, dueño natural, en la sombra, de los mejores secretos de vida, poesía y muerte. De vez en cuando, en lo antiguo y lo moderno, un poeta de origen campesino levanta por sí mismo esa mina y la coloca encima de todo. La filtración ascendente de la savia popular es inextinguible. En cualquier canción española donde se encuentre la verdadera poesía puede señalarse sin vacilación y en más o menos cantidad la sustancia del pueblo. Y poetas muy esquisitos de todos los tiempos españoles se dan la mano en gracia, en delicadeza, en frescura con este pueblo suyo, suma de lo fresco, lo delicado y lo esquisito. (*TG*, 42—43)

The echoes of *En torno al casticismo* are obvious, especially with regard to the underground river. The 'sustancia del pueblo' where 'la verdadera poesía' is to be found is nothing less than the 'idea céntrica' sought by the Generation of 1898, the sought-for centre within the context of what Ramsden has termed 'an apparently scientifically justified intellectual structure of causality' (*JRUL*, 58). Jiménez implies that Spain, like other nations, has its own particular character, its own peculiar geography and physical conditions which determine the nature of its people and of its 'true' poetry. Its 'true' poetry is therefore the expression of its unchanging nature, its eternal structure. It is not history or aristocratic patronage which shape the poetic expression of the nation but what Unamuno called its 'intrahistoric spirit', Jiménez its 'sustancia'. It is the 'poetas muy esquisitos' in each age who perceive and understand the nature of this central principle. It is they who must give it expression 'en delicadeza' to discover 'la musicalidad ideal . . . [que] expresa de modo único, en una metafísica sutil, esos intercambios, esas entradas y salidas de lo temporal en lo eterno' (*TG*, 47). At base, it is Art, rooted in the people in a 'delicate' style, expressing the unchanging 'essence' of the nation which leads to the nucleus itself. For Jiménez, not surprisingly, San Juan de la Cruz, one

of the earliest of his 'poetas predilectos', most perfectly expressed this ideal.

Ve hacia dentro y camina hacia fuera, uniendo en su caminar y su ver el principio y el fin de la existencia: la eternidad. (TG, 47)

Jiménez, like his '98 contemporaries, transfers attention from personal concerns to the search for meaning in the literary past of the nation. The eternity discovered by San Juan is the eternal structure, the nucleus Jiménez himself sought. Art, then, is not simply a beguilement but the bearer of his spiritual quest for meaning. That is, Jiménez was not a slave to French models or a simple aesthete, as Manuel Machado suggested in a witty comment in 1901: "JUAN RAMÓN JIMÉNEZ". Para algunos es un simple neurasténico. Yo creo que es un simple simplemente'. His brother Antonio may have been more perceptive when he dedicated his own 'intrahistoric' poem *La tierra de Alvargonzález* to Juan Ramón Jiménez who was to dedicate his life to the discovery of a spiritual purpose for mankind and Spain in particular. The whole tone of his later speeches and essays like the *Política poética* conform with Sanz del Río's adaptation of the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*.

Paul Olson concludes in *Circle of Paradox* (Baltimore 1967) that the poetic hermeticism structurally implied 'can be understood, in the context of the universalized and 'shared' consciousness achieved, to correspond to a concept of the being of human reality sufficient in itself, needing no relation to a cause as an 'excuse' for its being nor any consequence as justification for it. . . . The poet's intuition has penetrated all traditional beliefs to achieve a direct confrontation with that essence of human reality which is consciousness and life, of whose structure and intrinsic work his art is the reflection'. This study has underlined the nature of the means to that spiritual consciousness and underlying principle. When Jiménez called *Diario de un poeta recién casado* 'un libro metafísico' and insisted in *Dios deseado y deseante* on the relationship between poetry, beauty and truth, the emphasis on existential rather than aesthetic values was the inevitable product of his early intellectual formation.

III. 'MÁS DE VIDA ADENTRO'

In Icaza, Silva, and later in Juan Ramón, Antonio Machado, Pérez de Ayala and Martínez Sierra, we find a search through aesthetic hypersensitivity for the nature of time and essence itself. Objects, memories, dreams, all seem to provide a link with eternity and an interrelation between the questing mind and the mystery of being. Intuition, sharpened by anxiety, leads to the perception of a continuity of spiritual elements and vital forces and provides some eternal value. The poet's 'sensaciones' are insights into a permanency which lies within time and decay itself. Machado expressed this view most tellingly in the 'Introducción' to *Galerías y otros poemas*, as Juan Ramón in the 'eternidades' of his verses. The *Helios* group also identified 'idealistic' or 'mystic' process with a long national tradition. As such it combined the cultural aspects of a tradition with some form of inner tradition, a 'poesía interior' which expressed man's eternal aspirations. As with the '98, collective concerns become the bearers of individual concerns. Albeit with hindsight, Jiménez's comment in 1953 on Spanish Modernism seems to summarise exactly what the *Helios* group aspired to achieve.

[L]os españoles siguen cada vez más interiores, más de vida adentro, porque, claro, España es un país más místico que Hispanoamérica. (*Mod*, 236)

This expresses the fundamental difference between the *modernista* manifestations on each side of the Atlantic. The search for a 'poesía interior más de vida adentro' might be seen as the product of the Idealism of the mid-century and the influence of evolutionary determinism as described by Ramsden just as the search for a *tradición eterna* by the Generation of 1898 was a product of the same ideology. The common bonds are evolutionary theory, the influence of *Krausismo*, the person of Giner de los Ríos and a common response to a central and intractable spiritual problem. Thus Jiménez sees Modernism not as a purely *literary* problem but as a huge watershed in the development of the *history of ideas* in Spain. If the '98 sought their *tradición eterna* in Castile and its people, the Modernists of the *Helios* group believed that it could be found through Art. Baroja aptly summed up their common desire for a spiritual rebirth and their common sense of spiritual and ideological emptiness in the prologue to *La nave de los locos* (1925): 'se necesita tener una fuerza espiritual . . . y probablemente se necesita ser un perturbado'. Jiménez's 'perturbaciones', like those of the men of the '98, lead to an exploration of the individual

reaction to a situation of existential crisis in Spain which was to affect Europe on a larger scale after the First World War. The emphasis on Jiménez's extreme aestheticism should not lead the critic to overlook that other major but related feature of *modernismo*: the individual quest for a satisfying pattern of ideas, ideals and beliefs in an age which seemed unable to supply them. The probing of the refinements of the mind and the spirit led to the articulation of a series of cultural and spiritual myths which by any test are intellectually unsound. The opening paragraphs of *Política poética* (1936) would serve as example enough.

Pero si de niño yo creo que creía que era la paz, y en los tiempos de mi plenitud que tendría que ser la guerra, hoy, hombre mayor, en universal guerra civil, en pugna humana, en lucha completa de 'clases', creo seguramente que es la paz y que es necesario que sea la paz: el empleo del éstasis dinámico del hallazgo hermoso, el empleo del amor, el empleo de la vida en favor de la única libertad posible. Así, *mis ilusiones de niño fueron el preludio inconsciente, como en la poesía, de mis ideas de hombre mayor*. . . . Mi sueño infantil y mi consciencia madura, . . . me aseguran que la paz . . . interior, metafísica, sensual, mística, . . . la paz ambiente, objetiva y propicia a todos los seres, está y debemos buscarla, por la belleza y la verdad de la vida, en la poesía. (TG, 18. My emphasis)

The Krausist origins of this assertion are indisputable. The central postulate of Sanz del Rfo's translation of Krause's *El ideal de la humanidad para la vida* that man could fulfil his spiritual destiny in activity 'conforme a las leyes del mundo y a su carácter peculiar' by which 'será recibido en mundos superiores de la vida, . . . de la religión del amor filial y de la fraternidad de Dios' is repeated here in another guise. Krause went on, 'el hombre, siendo el compuesto armónico más íntimo de la Naturaleza y el Espíritu, debe realizar históricamente esta armonía y la de sí mismo con la humanidad, en forma de voluntad racional, y por el puro motivo de esta su naturaleza, en Dios'. The common idea that there are abstract forces working themselves out in history; the idea of a *Volksgeist* in cultural tradition, mysterious and unverifiable in its origins and operations; indifference to other historical and political forces at work in Spain and abroad appear in Jiménez's speech as strikingly as in the work of Unamuno and Ganivet. The whole outlook of the Generation of 1898 and those who were to frequent the *Helios* 'tertulias' was founded on the belief that the possession of insight, however painful, is in some way spiritually superior to the enjoyment of happiness based on illusion. González Serrano and Fr. Paulhan's diagnosis of a creative *dolor* finds expression in the work of the *modernistas* as much as in Yuste's remarks in Azorín's *La volun-*

tad (1902): 'El dolor es bello: él da al hombre el más intenso estado de conciencia; él hace meditar; él nos saca de la perdurable frivolidad humana' (O.C., I, 890). For Jiménez *dolor* lead both to insight and aesthetic refinement which, combined, lead to *la vida inquieta* and the *misticismo cerebral* wherein the sensitive man found an ethical purpose. Man can attune himself to the harmonic principle of life, felt and enjoyed through the cultivation of aesthetic hypersensitivity and a Franciscan quietism and morality.

The critic should not seek to overstress Jiménez's preoccupation with aesthetic hypersensitivity to the detriment of the many obvious references to the moral aspects of art. He also implies, with respect to this, that basic nineteenth-century belief in scientific causality. If, as Ramsden has convincingly argued, it is a key to our understanding of the '98, it was also, arguably, a central feature of Jiménez's utopianism. The common root is German Idealism. The employment of this approach places Jiménez squarely in the mainstream of *fin de siècle* thinking in company with the '98 and the Catalan Modernists. It is possible that he had read Taine, as many of them had, for his work was widely known and appeared in *La España Moderna*. Jiménez, who was an avid reader of this important journal, might also have come upon Unamuno's *En torno al casticismo* which appeared in its pages. The stamp of evolutionism appears also in the work of Maragall and Rusiñol as my study of the subject suggests. Jiménez knew their work. In Rusiñol's 'Modernisme', for example, and again in the article on Maeterlinck's *L'Intruse* (1893), the evolutionary process is stressed as a central part of the new art with an emphasis on the artist as a regenerator. Jiménez also stressed the evolutionary process and included artistic revolution within it. In the critique of *La copa del rey de Thule* he wrote:

Es ley eterna de la evolución: O *rinnovarsi o morire*; huelga, por lo sabido, tratar de esto... Todo, en la Naturaleza, nos habla de la progresión evolutiva...

... Mueren los días, mueren los años, mueren los siglos, y todo va muriendo hasta llegar a la vida o a la muerte eternas... ¿A qué, pues, este empeño en querer salvar al Arte de la ley de la evolución? (*LPr*, 207)

Spain, he went on, needs an artistic evolution and an 'empuje juvenil' to awaken the slumbering national spirit. Jiménez was to stress the theme of 'fuerza' and 'juventud' as a neglected aspect of Modernism in his conversations with Gullón (113). This critique, 'Rejas de oro' and Villaespesa's 'Atrio' all emphasise 'fuerza' and 'juventud'. They are reminiscent of another contemporary writer whom both, according

to the essay in *Españoles de tres mundos*, were reading at this time: José Enrique Rodó. We have seen how similar both writers were in their approach to hypersensitivity and aesthetics. They were also aware of the spiritual bankruptcy of an age of utilitarianism and materialism. They feared the imminent victory of the Democratic spirit and the consequent decline of Idealism. They were disgusted by the effects of mass movements and recognized the widespread reluctance to grapple with spiritual questions. Prospero's comments on the futility of 'el propósito de los que constituyéndose en avizores vigías del destino de América, en custodios de su tranquilidad, quisieran sofocar, con temeroso recelo, antes de que llegase a nosotros, cualquiera resonancia del humano dolor, cualquier eco venido de literaturas extranjeras que, por triste o insano, ponga en peligro la fragilidad de su optimismo. Ninguna firme educación de la inteligencia puede fundarse en el aislamiento candoroso o en la ignorancia voluntaria' (30—31), finds a more pessimistic echo in Jiménez's 'Rejas de oro'. The play was a failure not because of its merits, but because the society it depicted was unable or unwilling to comprehend its message (*LPr*, 214 and 219). Jiménez's final 'Ahí no puede existir parte alguna de idealismo' contrasts markedly with Rodó's messianic optimism. Yet their diagnosis of the malaise of the age and their remedy for it are strikingly similar. Both start from the recognition of the loss of life-directing ideals. Prospero's remarks on the confessions of the young which 'hablan de indecisión y de estupor' and which dwell on 'Duda . . . desaliento y dolor' (30—31) echo Jiménez's account of the loss of 'blancas ilusiones'. Ostensibly Jiménez's response of inward regard, of a refined escapist hedonism, seem unlike Prospero's belief in the unbroken will and the 'esperanza mesiánica' of the young. They respond to 'las torturas de . . . meditación' and 'gustos de angustia' not with stoicism but with 'una invocación al ideal *que vendrá*, con una nota de esperanza mesiánica' (30). This belief, of course, is shared with Modernists in Spain and in Cataluña and Jiménez, having read 'El que vendrá', seems to have accepted it. 'No olvidéis, además', Prospero continued, 'que en ciertas amargas del pensamiento hay, . . . la posibilidad de encontrar un punto de partida para la acción, hay a menudo sugerencias fecundas . . . En tal sentido', he concluded, 'se ha dicho bien que hay pesimismo que tienen la significación de un *optimismo paradójico*' (31). From anguish springs the desire for spiritual regeneration. 'Rejas de oro' was published a month before *Ariel*. The coincidence of mood of these two works is an indication of the power of those intellectual currents operating on Spanish writers on both sides of the Atlantic. It is the nature

of these patterns and their effect on Juan Ramón Jiménez which this study has attempted to highlight.

The Decadent aspects of the conversion of anguish into a wilful and exquisite masochism attached to a specific hypersensitive temperament have been examined above. Creative despair, it was argued, is a sign of the superior will of the *dandy*. It is conceivable, however, that Jiménez's ambiguous 'considero la delicadeza como una fuerza', read in the context of *Ariel* and the desire for a 'fuerza' which might bring about an evolution in the minds of the masses might be interpreted in an alternative sense. If Jiménez, like the '98, was subject to the same intellectual patterns as I have suggested elsewhere, it is possible that he, too, formulated the two same basic human categories as we find in the writings of the Generation of 1898: the minority possessed of analytical insight, and the great mass whom Baroja called *ilusos*. The minority Jiménez termed 'la inmensa minoría'. This view, of course, coincides with the aristocratic aestheticism of *modernismo* and its Symbolist origins. It seems, however, that under the growing influence of the Institución that the two strains were combined to produce a viewpoint which was the logical development of the idealist and evolutionary thinking of Spain in the *fin de siècle*. Juan Ramón's comment was to be refashioned in various of the speeches he made concerning his personal philosophy in the 1930s and the 1940s. In the *Política poética* (1936) he denied the contention that 'la poesía sensitiva . . . esencial, debilita . . . que no es un empeño poderoso de la vida' (*TG*, 29). In 'Aristocracia y democracia' (1941) he declared that 'mi hombre superior no es dictador ni imperialista, sino un hombre humano, expandido de amor, delicadeza y entusiasmo, que es, en sí mismo, toda una humanidad superior' (*TG*, 78). These comments might be further illuminated with reference to the European experience of the *fin de siècle* as expressed in *Ariel* and the Generation of 1898.

It is not suggested that the contact with the Catalan Modernists, the '98 or the reading of *Ariel* in 1900 were decisive in the shaping of Jiménez's attitudes. After all, *Ariel* was not published until February 1900, a month after Jiménez had published 'Rejas de oro'. What is important is the coincident pattern of thought. He approaches the common problem in the same way and adopts the same methodology to tackle them. This would suggest that they partook of a common experience, the experience of the nineteenth-century search for evidence of some explanation for life within a divine power: on the one hand the Krausist explanation of life through man's willing cooperation with an evolutionary divine purpose, on the other the striving for a Heroic

vision which comes from the writings of Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, Nietzsche and others. Nor should we forget the optimistic determinism of Taine and Spencer which was already widely disseminated among the Spanish intelligentsia. A comparison of *Ariel* and Jiménez's youthful idealism would suggest such a coincidence.

Rodó's remedy against the two major problems of spiritual disquiet and utilitarian democracy lay in the hands of the young. Prospero enjoined his young disciples to a spiritual and *moral* programme of action. With overtones of nineteenth-century thinkers like Emerson, Carlyle and Ruskin he suggested that their very youth was 'una fuerza' of which they were the agents. By a consciousness of the 'fuerza bendita' of which they were possessed the regeneration of their inferior fellows could be realised. 'La juventud, que así significa en el alma de los individuos y la de las generaciones, luz, amor, energía, existe y lo significa también en el proceso evolutivo de las sociedades' (25—26). Yet, as we have seen, the continuing Romantic dilemma expressed in literature in the persons of René and Des Esseintes had brought about an enervation of will and of spirit. However, in the 'desconsoladoras manifestaciones del espíritu de nuestro tiempo' of the Decadent response, Prospero discovered, as did Jiménez and his fellow Modernists in Barcelona, a special spiritual condition: 'un lisonjero renacimiento de animación y de esperanza en la psicología de la juventud . . . que es quizá nuncio de transformaciones más hondas' (28—29). Hence his anxious question '¿Será de nuevo la juventud una realidad de la vida colectiva, como de la vida individual?' (29). We discover in these words a familiar pattern: the quest for a nucleus; the desire for a collectively-cohesive ideal and the subtle shift of interest from individual purpose to the search for a collective purpose. Find the latter and the former will be revealed. This is the pattern described by Shaw and Ramsden in their analyses of the Generation of 1898. We should not forget that the essence of Rodó's message had already been expressed in Spain in 1898 by Ganivet in an article on the Scandinavian writer Hamsun and collected by L. Seco de Lucena in *Juicio de Angel Ganivet sobre su obra literaria*, (Granada 1962).

Hay en el decadentismo un lado bueno, el de ser una protesta contra el positivismo dominante; pero esta protesta hay dos modos de formularla: quejándose como mujeres, que es lo que hacen los decadentistas; o luchando como hombres para afirmar nuevos ideales. El decadentismo es cansancio, es tristeza, es duda, y lo que hace falta es fuerza, resolución y fe en algo, aunque sea en nuestro instinto; que, cuando nos impulsa, a alguna parte nos llevará. (144)

Ariel is ostensibly concerned with the problem of Hispanoamerica and the need for spiritual leadership. Brotherston has suggested that Rodó was faced with the delicate problem of his own obvious desire for an aristocratic solution to the problem; a desire for heroism, for individual self-elevation and leadership modified by its ethical implications and the recognition of the palpable fact of democracy. At the same time Rodó felt a greater disgust at the thought of an amorphous, undirected democracy, blinded by utilitarianism (5—6). One might argue that 'Rejas de oro' shows signs of a coincident attitude. Rodó's response is to view society in terms of natural selection. 'Rodó', says Brotherston, 'elaborated this idea attractively, saying some conception of hierarchy was essential to progress since man could improve only by having a superior model to imitate; and he appealed messianically to youth to become a 'prophetic species' and the harbingers of a new kind of spiritualized society. Prospero urges man to transcend himself, to become a model of human perfection and integrity to be imitated in a perpetually transformed society in which Caliban could become Ariel' (6). Ramsden's provocative '*Ariel* ¿libro del 98?' (*CHA*, 302 [1975], 446—54 [*AL* 98]) has linked *Ariel* more specifically with nineteenth-century deterministic theory and the work of Taine. His thesis is that it is the specific way in which Rodó and the men of the '98 adapt and apply the theory of evolution which is the 'clave de las características más destacadas del movimiento del 98' (*AL* 98, 454). Jiménez, as we have seen, combines evolutionary idealism and a hierarchical notion of aesthetic and moral heroism.

In his critique of Darío's *Prosas profanas* (1899), which Juan Ramón had read, Rodó drew attention to the weaknesses of the Decadence and aestheticist affectation. He offered a broader interpretation of the term *modernismo* and identified it with his own 'ideal optimism'. Yet his statement coincides almost exactly with Jiménez's comments on the subject in the interview with Proel and in conversation with Gullón. Thus Rodó:

Yo soy un *modernista* también; yo pertenezco con toda mi alma a la gran reacción que da carácter y sentido a la evolución del pensamiento en las postrimerías de este siglo; a la reacción que, partiendo del naturalismo literario y del positivismo filosófico, los conduce, sin desvirtuarlos en lo que tienen de fecundos, a disolverse en concepciones más altas. (*O. C.*, 187)

Rodó, like Jiménez, is speaking of Modernism in terms of the history of ideas rather than of literary movements. What he implies is that a number of significant ideas emerging in the late nineteenth-century

had infused the literary aspects of the movement to raise it to higher aspirations for mankind. Jiménez, in my opinion, coincided in this view. In essence, a force for spiritual redemption. Both adopted a belief in the law of deterministic causality and applied it to their aesthetics. The strong resemblances in their approach to central problems and the remarkable coincidence of remedy applied suggests that both writers shared a common intellectual experience.

Jiménez's references to the 'almas grandes' in the review of *Rejas de oro* and the suggestion that through their idealism the spiritual redemption and evolution of the inferior masses could be brought about finds an echo in Rodó's Caliban-Ariel contrast. Rodó, like the '98 and Juan Ramón, suggested that the enigma of the 'carácter de los pueblos', 'la originalidad de su carácter personal, el contorno seguro de la "personalidad"', the sought-for national spiritual 'identity', could not be discovered by the masses themselves. 'La multitud, la masa anónima, no es nada por sí misma'. Thus he dedicated part IV of *Ariel* to the need for their education with a view to training and selecting a hierarchy from which would arise 'fuertes elementos dirigentes que hagan efectivo el dominio de la *calidad* sobre el *número*' (46). Ramsden and Shaw have both pointed to the motif of the directing intellectual in the writings of the '98. They also point to the ready transition in '98 argument 'desde la realidad objetiva a una esfera ideal'. 'Es completamente consistente con tal dualidad el que Rodó inmerso en "un ambiente de vulgaridad" y de "impiedades del tumulto" sueña con un reino ideal . . . de "distinción intelectual", "ensueño de arte" y "delicadeza de vida"' (AL 98, 451). Ramsden goes on to conclude that the interpretation of the national crisis is identified with their own spiritual crisis and that by the shift from objective problem to idealism they arrive at utopianism. 'Además', he adds significantly in the present context, 'tal aspiración no es mera pose de decadentes, sino, en muchos casos al menos, profunda exigencia espiritual, ocasionada por la necesidad de colmar el vacío y de dar sentido, dirección y finalidad a los pataleos de hombres desarraigados, faltos de fe en la última finalidad de la existencia humana' (AL 98, 452). Hence Rodó's '¿No nos será lícito, a lo menos, soñar con la aparición de generaciones humanas que devuelvan a la vida un sentido ideal, un grande entusiasmo?' (29). Hence too Jiménez's transference of disillusionment from personal loss of idealism to a sense of collective loss in the gloomy and pessimistic commentary on the lack of spiritual energy and idealism in Spain. Jiménez arrogates to himself such 'distinción intelectual' which enables him to perceive in Orbe's play 'manjares de inspiraciones', 'algo nuevo', 'esa nueva vida de de-

leites . . . esa dulcísima vida de ensueños'. He, like Orbe or Rodó, belongs to an élite, 'la del círculo que piensa y que siente' (*LPr*, 215). The flight from reality to more congenial worlds and preoccupations is as obvious in Jiménez as it is in Rodó and the '98. If we apply Ramsden's criterion we perceive that the '98 'redentor' and the Modernist 'magevate' share common idealistic ground. Although the search for an ideal is sought in different areas both groups in reality are searching for individual meaning. The object contemplated becomes a subjective necessity.

In addition to these similarities there also remains the common preoccupation with the evolutionary role of the artist-redeemer. There is also the common bond of belief in the causal relationship between environment and character. 'Paisaje, pueblo, cultura, todos íntimamente relacionados en un sistema determinista de causalidad, es la trilogía esencial e imprescindible de los hombres del 98' (*AL* 98, 453). The Modernists rejected the outer landscape of Spain for the inner sensorial landscapes of the imagination. Subsequently, of course, Antonio Machado and even Jiménez, as we have seen, came to believe that the national character and national art were conditioned by Spain's unique landscape. Initially, however, the accent was on the spur of the anguished vision which sharpened the perceptions to the power of Beauty, spirituality and its attendant affections like Love. Such forces were held to be powerful impellents to regeneration. Witness Rodó's belief in their ineluctable strength to 'provocar esa renovación, inalterable como un ritmo de la Naturaleza' (25). From spiritual anguish, argued Rodó, can spring 'un acerado acicate de la evolución' (31). 'Lo que a la humanidad importa salvar contra toda negación pesimista, es, no tanto la idea de la relativa bondad de lo presente, sino de la posibilidad de llegar a un término mejor por el desenvolvimiento de la vida, apresurado y orientado mediante el esfuerzo de los hombres . . . He ahí por qué me interesa extraordinariamente la orientación moral de vuestro espíritu. La energía de vuestra palabra y vuestro ejemplo puede llegar hasta incorporar las fuerzas vivas del pasado a la obra del futuro' (31—33). In section II of *Ariel* Rodó stressed the need for the development of 'la plenitud de vuestro ser', the need to realise 'por la íntima armonía del espíritu, el destino común de los seres racionales' (34), 'el concierto de todas las facultades humanas' (36). He also expressed his belief that utilitarianism and materialism had not only mutilated 'la integridad natural de los espíritus' (34) but 'daña esa influencia dispersiva a la *estética* de la estructura social' (36). Hence his conclusion.

Cuando el sentido de la utilidad material y el bienestar, domina en el carácter de las sociedades humanas con la energía que tiene en lo presente, los resultados del espíritu estrecho y la cultura unilateral son particularmente funestos a la difusión de aquellas preocupaciones puramente ideales que, siendo objeto de amor para quienes les consagran las energías nobles y perseverantes de su vida, se convierten en una remota, y quizá no sospechada, región, para una inmensa parte de los otros. (37)

The complexity of and lack of apparent structure in the age are injurious to a harmonious vision of life. Yet within that complexity itself is to be found a nucleus, 'ciertas ideas y sentimientos fundamentales que mantenga la unidad y el concierto de la vida, — en ciertos *intereses de alma* (37). Hence his exhortation:

el principio fundamental de vuestro desenvolvimiento, vuestro lema de la vida, deben ser mantener la integridad de vuestra condición humana (41).

Nothing must deflect man from the heroic enterprise to discover the central harmonising ideal. But how was it to be achieved? How was man to escape his dolorous vision and find his way back to that life-directing ideal? Section III sets out the guidelines. The means to escape spiritual decline is through 'el sentimiento de lo bello, la visión clara de la hermosura de las cosas' (42). By the cultivation of Beauty and the sharpening of the senses to its affections regeneration can be realised. 'Sería un motivo superior de moralidad el que autorizaría a proponer la cultura de los sentimientos estéticos, como un alto interés de todos . . . Considerad el educado sentido de lo bello el colaborador más eficaz en la formación de un delicado instinto de justicia' (43). One might compare Jiménez's oracular statement that 'la verdadera poesía [la belleza] lleva siempre en sí justicia' (TG, 32).

This stage of the argument is most significant for Rodó shifts his emphasis from aestheticism to ethics to express the dominant theme of post-Romantic writers like Emerson, Carlyle and Ruskin to whose writings he constantly refers.

Yo creo indudable que el que ha aprendido a distinguir de lo delicado lo vulgar, lo feo de lo hermoso, lleva hecha media jornada para distinguir lo malo de lo bueno. (45)

Again Jiménez:

'El poeta es el mayor enemigo, en nombre de lo mejor auténtico, de lo peor, de lo falso; es, siendo el aristócrata puro, el puro popularista. El poeta no ha olvidado nunca que lo peor verdadero es la injusticia, el hambre, la miseria por un lado, y por otro, la populachería, el odio el crimen'. (TG, 79)

The affections associated with the contemplation of Beauty serve the laws of causality so that according to Rodó, 'a medida que la humanidad avance, se concebirá mas claramente la ley moral como una estética de la conducta' (45). Hence it falls to the artist who is sensitive to Beauty to bring about the looked-for redemption. Hugo's 'mage' has been combined with Carlyle's 'Hero'.

En el alma del redentor, del misionero, del filántropo, debe exigirse también *entendimiento de hermosura*, hay necesidad de que coloboren ciertos elementos del genio del artista. Es inmensa la parte que corresponde al don de descubrir y revelar la última belleza de las ideas, en la eficacia de las grandes revoluciones morales. (45)

Jiménez, too, believed in the power of Beauty for Good. If the potential leaders of society were to be affected by 'delicadeza', 'poesía sensitiva . . . esencial' the necessary spiritual evolution could be achieved. 'Levantando la poesía del pueblo se habrá diseminado la mejor semilla social política'. 'Siempre he creído', Jiménez went on, 'que a la política, administración espiritual y material de un pueblo, se debe ir por vocación estricta y tras una preparación jeneral equivalente a la de la más difícil carrera o profesión. Y entre las "materias" que esa carrera política exigiría para su complemento, la principal debiera ser la poesía, o mejor, la poesía debiera envolver a todas las demás. El político, que ha de administrar un país, un pueblo, debe estar impregnado de esa poesía profunda que sería la paz de su patria' (1936; *TG*, 31—32 & cf. *CI*, 247). The potential regenerator of society must, declared Jiménez, be of refined aesthetic sensibility. 'El mejor, el más aristocrático poeta o científico debe ser en rigor, por su cultura y cultivo, el hombre de mejores sentimientos' (1941; *TG*, 74). But it is not aestheticism alone which will bring about the desired regeneration: 'Un poeta sucesivo, renovado, . . . es lo primero por su espíritu', argued Juan Ramón, 'nunca por su materia artística o científica . . . por sus materiales. [...] Un poeta puede cantar maravillosamente, con un virtuosismo insuperable, . . .; pero eso, en sí solo, como hecho, como anécdota, sin relación con otros fenómenos intelectuales, espirituales o ideales, no acredita la poesía. [...] El hombre político, el de la poli, la ciudad del mundo, . . . debía ser el hombre de espíritu más ejemplar' (1948; *TG*, 118—119). Quoting the psychological theories of Bagehot, Rodó postulates a causal relationship between aesthetic taste and moral uprightness. Here, in brief, is the wider vision of Modernism that would lead to 'concepciones más altas' and the *fin de siècle* search for a nucleus; a quest, amid the bewildering complexity of life, for an evolving meaningful

structure. In addition, the artist is now no longer an outcast, despised by the masses. He has now become the means to their redemption. The artist is now the defender and propagator of 'las cosas del espíritu'. He must work in harmony with his own spiritual vision and with the tasks he embraces. Above all he must renounce self-interest and look only to 'el más glorioso esfuerzo [que] es el que pone la esperanza más allá del horizonte visible' (98). The artist then becomes an 'especie profética' who is the instrument of 'la evolución biológica'. By his example and his insight the evolution of the spiritual side of man will be brought about and the harmonious vision of life fulfilled. Combining his sensitive appraisal of the traditions of the past with his vision of the future he can express the directing 'sentido ideal'. He is therefore both unconscious instrument of deterministic forces and the willing collaborator with them. Such a view would explain, of course, the common generational preoccupation with *intrahistoria* and the 'sentido del pueblo' in popular art. Rodó insists on the ennobling power of this vision, he lays stress on the good fortune of his own age in being the instrument of it and refers to that vision being born 'en el seno del más absoluto pesimismo, . . . en el seno de la amarga filosofía . . . el amor de la disolución y la nada'. He accepts Hartmann's prediction of 'el austero deber de continuar la obra del perfeccionamiento, . . . para que, acelerada la evolución por el esfuerzo de los hombres, llegue ella con más rápido impulso a su término final, que será el término de todo dolor y toda Vida' (99—100). All this is significant. Again we find the same pattern in Jiménez's mature essays. 'En estos últimos tiempos de la Humanidad se había hecho escesivamente realista', he wrote in 'La razón heroica' (1948), 'es decir, que se había envejecido, que había perdido perenidad, eternidad, intemporalidad'. The 'hombres de espíritu más ejemplar' have failed. The present age of materialistic concerns, stresses Jiménez here and elsewhere, has left man in a world of lost directions. 'Era un hombre realista en un mundo apocado, disminuído, equivocado, descentrado; y no disminuído sólo de tiempo y espacio . . . sino disminuído de genio interior [espíritu]', (*TG*, 119—120). 'El hombre ciudadano es un árbol desarraigado' (1941; *TG*, 64). 'La mayoría de las doctrinas políticas modernas han fracasado y seguirán fracasando por el desvío de lo espiritual' (1949; *CI*, 258). Once more we find a coincidence of thought with the Generation of 1898 who insisted on spiritual ideals rather than practical proposals for socio-political intervention. What is needed is an 'aristócrata', preferably himself, who would 'llegar a lo mejor, ayudar a integrar una sociedad mejor' (1941; *TG*, 80), 'llevarnos [por la poesía] a todos a nuestro propio

centro' (1936; *TG*, 33). 'La tristeza serena', he added revealingly, 'es una forma superior de vida, como la serena alegría. Hay que buscar el equilibrio entre lo alegre y lo triste y encontrarlo a cada extremo su valor. De la fuente de la tristeza surten también aguas riquísimas de amor, de paz de dicha' (1941; *TG*, 49). One is reminded forcibly of Urbano González Serrano, Unamuno, Baroja and Azorín. We recognize that these assertions are related not to the belief in collective redemption but to the personal anguished vision and the desire for a meaningful life-directing ideal. The transfer of the individual problem to the collective is obvious in Rodó's statement that 'la idea de un superior acuerdo entre el buen gusto y el sentido moral es, pues, exacta, lo mismo en el espíritu de los individuos que en el espíritu de las sociedades' (49), as it is in Jiménez's oracular statement that '[l]a solución del hombre en lo político, digo lo colectivo de la ciudad mejor, la base común de una vida más alta, ¿no sería un colectivismo económico suficiente que dejase libre para el cultivo interior nuestra inteligencia más sensitiva cada vez en lo poético, en lo bello?' (1949; *CI*, 258).

In 1900 Jiménez was totally dedicated to the cultivation of Beauty and 'las cosas del espíritu'. It may be that the aggressive assertion of his belief can be explained in terms of a messianic vision of its power. While he might plead that Art should be above all utilitarian concerns it is clear from the essays on *La copa del rey de Thule*, *Rejas de oro* and subsequent reviews that he saw Art as a fitting instrument for the elevation of man's spiritual condition. The audience of Orbe's *Rejas de oro* is a 'sociedad soez, rastrera', yet it is a 'sociedad que aun debe conservar un soplo tenue, un ligero aliento del alma, que latió al beso sublime de una sensación eludible; . . . el ligero soplo del alma que vibró noblemente un instante' (*LPr*, 214). Hence the recognition of the 'poderosa y grata fuerza moral' of the work. Aesthetics and ethics are closely bound together. As we have seen Jiménez accepts the evolutionary character of the universe and of Art within it. His lifetime ideal is expressed in terms of 'una ética-estética', Rodó's 'estética de la conducta'. The many aphorisms Jiménez wrote specifically point to the theme of spiritual strength and spiritual amelioration. Nor should we overlook the implications of evolutionary forces at work in Art in phrases like 'depuración constante', 'la obra en marcha', 'sucesión', 'éxtasis dinámico', 'ningún día sin romper un papel' which were soon to appear. Much of the 'heroism' of the writings of Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin or of Rodó can be seen in the writings of Juan Ramón during the crisis period of the Civil War and the immediate aftermath of World

War. He insists that these essays are nothing more than a reiteration of his youthful idealism (*TG*, 18). In *Política poética* he suggests a process of deterministic causality in his oracular statement that '[e]l hombre nace directamente a su poesía' (*TG*, 19) implying that poetry and life are synonymous. But man must cooperate with, as well as be shaped by, abstract forces. 'Desde su niñez el hombre debe ser guiado por los hombres a ir comprendiendo esa acomodación, ese encaje gustoso en su lugar que es la gracia de la existencia' (*TG*, 19). In the parable of the house-builder who cooperates with the life-directing forces there is a hint of Hegel's *Geist* which acts through men and makes of his life an evolving structure ultimately revealing itself. 'El que la [casa] hace con amor e idea consigue que la naturaleza asimile esa casa y a él con ella, asimilación que necesita del hombre su tierra y el hombre de su tierra como razón de ser, vivo, y de seguir viviendo en ella, hasta la otra fusión honda, gustosa también si ha sido la alta. El hombre vivirá así contento en la casa que se ha hecho a su gusto en la tierra y que la naturaleza ha hecho, con él, suya' (*TG*, 19—20). The ideal state is 'el comunismo ideal, 'el trabajo gustoso',

el "comunismo poético", que es el que yo pienso y sueño, sería aquel en que todos, iguales en principio, trabajásemos en nuestra vida, con nuestra vida, y por nuestra vida, por deber consciente, cada uno en su vocación, "en lo que gustara", y, entiéndase bien, con el ritmo conveniente y necesario a este gusto. La vida y el trabajo no pueden tener otro ritmo que el suyo, no pueden ser hostigados ni desviados de su órbita. (*TG*, 20—21)

Again we sense the determinist pattern of abstract forces controlling man's progress and the 'heroic' man cooperating and working with them. But only 'los sentimientos más firmes son los que llegan a estar más cerca de la naturaleza, de la naturaleza del pueblo. . . . el hombre de campo, rudo en apariencia, suele estar lleno de finura para todo lo sutil que le rodea' (*TG*, 29). In the city man is uprooted and loses his strength. 'Es porque el hombre del campo pierde en la ciudad su contacto con lo leve que le da y le mantiene su fuerza' (*TG*, 29). The beauty of the world in which man lives is the source of his strength. Yet Beauty does not debilitate; it gives moral strength. 'No, la poesía delicada no debilita. No se es débil por ser fino' (*TG*, 30). The man sensitive to Beauty and living in harmony with his natural environment and the *pueblo* must strive to save his fellows from ignoble and vain pursuits.

¡Qué labor . . . la que podríamos todos cumplir cultivando a gusto la sensibilidad de los que están más cerca de nosotros, formentando la tranquilidad

de todos, imposibilitando guerras y revoluciones inútiles...! [...] En este 'estado poético' todos estaríamos en nuestro lugar, ... que la poesía tendría la virtud de llegarnos a todos a nuestro propio centro, que es solo centro... (TG, 33)

In 'Aristocracia y democracia' (1941) we find the same messianic message. 'Y demos nuestro esfuerzo fervoroso de poetas del porvenir humano a esta esperanza de unión, hagamos diariamente, con nuestro trabajo gustoso, nuestro hombre bueno' (TG, 81). Seven years later in 'La razón heroica' he saw poet and process in intimate relationship.

Para él, hombre sucesivo, el mundo todo será una diaria y hermosa cuesta arriba, la gran cuesta arriba que puede subirla con naturaleza y gracia, porque su propia sucesión habrá sido secreta sucesión universal. El individuo sucesivo impulsa al mundo sin proponérselo. *Esta idea es mía desde mi juventud, y desde mi primera juventud la vengo comprobando.*

(TG, 117. My emphasis)

'El espíritu es inmanencia en marcha', he went on,

'y cuando el espíritu concibe para la vida, tiene que ser marcha, devenir, ... El poeta de espíritu, el que comprende a todos los hombres y se comprende a sí mismo... es el único hombre que puede en cada instante ver, ordenar y dirigir la vida'. (TG, 119)

'Hombres de conciencia', he concluded, 'heroicos en su debilidad material, han dado el ejemplo moral a los hombres' (129). Here, exactly, is the 'Hero' of Carlyle and the 'redentor' of Rodó and the '98. The major impellent to spiritual fulfilment is Beauty and Love (134). Without them comes spiritual decay: 'sin movimiento, la vida se deshace dentro y fuera por falta de cohesión dinámica'. The spiritual evolutionary process is vital to the realisation of the ideal.

If Jiménez was correct in his statement that he adhered to this principle from youth then the experience of *Ariel*, of Catalan Modernism, of Krausism and of the *fin de siècle* ethos in Spain would have supplied the ground from which his idealism was to spring.

IV. 'EL AMOR SUBLIME! ... SOPLO DE ALMA'

If the general direction of the argument seems irrelevant to Jiménez's attitudes in 1899—1900 then a more detailed analysis of his critique of Orbe's *Rejas de oro* would prove the contrary. Orbe was another of the many intellectuals who came under the spell of Castro and Giner

de los Ríos. He was also a correspondent of Unamuno who favourably reviewed his earlier novel *Redenta* which was read by Jiménez. As such his *Rejas de oro* (1899) has the 'ethical spirituality', the 'religión del amor filial y de la fraternidad de Dios' and the 'nuevos desarrollos y complementarios en armonía con la historia progresiva humana' of the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*. Jiménez accepts this as a *donnée* and praises the 'poderosa y grata fuerza moral' of the work. He emphasises the materialism of modern society in terms similar to Rusiñol's comments in *Impresiones de arte* (1894), the *Discurs llegit a Sitges* (1894) and the prologue to *Fulls de la vida* (1898). He speaks of 'una sociedad soez, rastrera', which refuses to accept the portrait of itself painted by Orbe and the image of the corruption of the supreme idealism: 'el amor sublime'. As for Rodó, Ganivet or Unamuno, the basis of Jiménez's scheme for the regeneration of mankind is the effort and sacrifice of superior individuals, the 'almas grandes'.

¡Ay, las almas grandes que se bañan en los lagos azules del Ideal, que viven en una vida de ensueños, debieron derramar en torno suyo un suavísimo perfume, aun cuando fuese sólo una sutil emanación de la embraigadora e inmortal fragancia que encierran en su puro cáliz de nobleza ... ! (LPr, 215)

Noventayochista ethics expressed in terms of *modernista* aestheticism. It is from communion with 'el amor sublime' and the spirit of 'El Ideal' that, as Shaw suggested with regard to Ganivet, they draw the ideas, the strength of will, the spirit of sacrifice, the 'idealismo', and above all the love which makes them what they are. Jiménez underlines the point in the quoted excerpts from *Rejas de oro*. Jorge's statement to Carmen at the central point in the play underscores their common belief in the potential for spiritual regeneration through love.

Hay que amar, Carmen, hay que salir de nuestra corteza material, de nuestro egoísmo, y buscar la fusión de las almas, el santo ayuntamiento espiritual ... (PLP, 216)

Jorge's sacrifice will lead to 'una nueva vida de deleites, en un paraíso que se abre desde entonces' and, more importantly, his example will lead to the transformation of Carmen:

Díos mío, ¿qué va a hacer? ... ¡Pero qué me importa, si sé que me quiere, si siento que el amor me enloquece! ... Sí, acabó la duda ... Quiero reír, quiero llorar, sí, que salga en mis lágrimas la ventura que no cabe en mi corazón, que se desborde la dicha que me ahoga ... (PLP, 217)

What is meant by 'amor' or 'el santo ayuntamiento espiritual' is never stated. Jiménez's comment that 'Orbe ha puesto en él [acto] las vibra-

ciones de las fibras más sutiles de su alma de poeta' reveals not only the *modernista* approval of aesthetic refinement but acknowledges a transcendental and evolutionary spiritual process. His reaction to those less sensitive members of Orbe's audience who failed to understand the message of redemption betrays the ambivalent position of this élite minority of directing intellectuals. The mixture of 'desprecio y compasión' for those 'que no sienten, que no piensan, que no sueñan ni lloran . . .' expresses a duality which we perceive in others of his generation. It expresses the conflict of the writer with himself and his insight. The investigation of the 'abnormal' state of mind in *modernista* art and '98 fiction is an indication of the common and intractable spiritual problem and the shift in sensibility which occurred at the end of the century. Authors felt contempt for the mass because their outlook was founded on the belief that the possession of insight was intrinsically superior to the enjoyment of happiness based on illusion. They felt compassion because they saw progress in terms of personal sacrifice and example which they alone could supply. Their idealism and zeal was based on a blind faith that a few 'almas grandes' could bring about the individual conversion of the many. The flaw lay in the fact that such a faith was borrowed and adapted from the renovated Christian pietism of the mid-century and the Krausist belief in love, work and progress at the centre of which lay a value system and ultimate beliefs which they could not accept. Jiménez seems to suggest that any progress for mankind is dictated by man's spiritual evolution. The source of such progress is a life in harmony with the principle of 'el amor sublime', and personal sacrifice and effort by hypersensitive and aesthetically refined individuals who are capable of conceiving new directive principles and ideals for themselves and the mass. Such individuals are identified by their idealism, their ability to shape their own spiritual evolution and model their souls by acts of will, even in the face of 'perturbaciones'. In line with Gánivet and Rodó, Jiménez also believed, as his remarks here, in the autobiographical essay of 1907 and the many speeches and prefaces of the 1920s and 1930s demonstrate, that Western society's preoccupation with material progress is an error, with dehumanizing consequences.

Después vi que terminaba la representación, que salía la gente y de nuevo volvía la sociedad a su vida grosera, olvidándose de las sensaciones estéticas y pasionales sufridas . . . no llevando en el alma ningún propósito, ninguna lágrima, ningún anhelo de algo nuevo, de esa nueva vida de deleites de que habla Orbe . . .

Vi que la sociedad caía de nuevo en la charca de sus vicios; vi el esfuerzo

perdido de los que la fustigan; la impenitencia de esa sociedad pecadora; la imposibilidad de sacarla del cieno en que está hundida... para hacerla entrar por la puerta blanca de la felicidad... (My emphasis)

More importantly, the narrow philosophy of materialist hedonism is ultimately destructive of 'idealismo' itself.

No; no podrá nunca templar su alma al unísono con el Ideal. La sociedad moderna es un gran organismo material; se traga a los seres; los dijere penosamente en su vientre ayudada por el jugo aurífero, y los arroja al exterior en excrementos nauseabundos... Ahí no puede existir parte alguna de idealismo... (LPr, 219)

Jiménez's pessimism in January 1900 was not to lead to a rejection of this Krausist orientated idealism for the *Política poética* of 1936, as we have seen, argues along almost identical lines and stresses the role of individual example by a directing intellectual élite. By then Ortega had invented 'los mejores'. Jiménez, however, as the title of his speech suggests, believed that social amelioration could be brought about by purely spiritual (poetic) means, a *política poética*. The combination of aesthetics and ethics is unquestionable. Its origins are to be found in the Krausist ethos of the classrooms in Seville and Orbe's *tertulias*.

Within a year of the review of *Rejas de oro* he was to read Amiel, Carlyle, Ruskin, Emerson and Claudel whose 'heroes' would change society by individual contact and example. The admiration for the work of the latter and for the person of Giner de los Ríos would suggest that the aesthetic-ethic idealism of the Spaniard and the Catholic socialism of the Frenchman were powerful and complementary influences. Claudel's belief that some Divine power orders the lives of men and women in suffering and renunciation, his uncompromising belief in the strength of spiritual forces for good, the suggestion that beauty gives access to the inner life of man, is an affirmation of being, divinity and truth, coincides almost exactly with the tenets of the *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida*.⁷

It was during this period that Jiménez was in closest contact with the Institución Libre. It was also during these years that one of the most significant Spanish literary reviews of this century was founded. In its pages we find the collaboration of the men of the '98, Krausists and Modernists alike alongside the work of major European thinkers, artists and scientists. In *Helios* is to be found much of the spiritual idealism here discussed. Significantly Jiménez's next major development of the *ética-estética* came when he renewed contact with the Krausist circle on his return to the Residencia de Estudiantes in 1912.

In 1904 Jiménez acquired a copy of Shelley's *Defensa de la poesía y otros ensayos* (Madrid 1904) [Casa Museo Library, Moguer, No 2934]. Shelley, of course, was one of the clearest exponents of the relationship between Beauty and Truth and Beauty and Goodness. In the text Jiménez carefully marked a number of passages and jotted down his reactions to Shelley's ideas. Some of these marginalia are revealing in the context of this discussion. Read in the light of the theory of determinist causality as well as that of post-Romantic idealism, certain passages may have helped confirm the direction Jiménez's thinking was taking. Dante, for example, is referred to as 'el congregador de aquellos grandes espíritus que presidieron a la resurrección de la enseñanza' (48). In *Política poética* he was to note that 'la poesía más fuerte será . . . la poesía del pensamiento más alto, cualidad mejor del hombre, la poesía de Dante, . . .', (TG, 31). Dante, of course, was one of Carlyle's 'heroes'. Another passage echoes Rodó. 'El que se satisface con la contemplación sentida de lo hermoso, se opone a . . . la concepción utilitaria' (51). In the moment of poetic inspiration and under the spell of Beauty 'el estado de ánimo producido por ellas está en guerra con todo bajo deseo' (58). Shelley also expressed a messianic belief in the power of Poetry:

La Poesía . . . hace inmortal toda aquello que es lo mejor y lo más bello del mundo; . . . [lleva] dulces nuevas de gozo fraternal a aquellos con quienes habitan sus hermanos. . . . [Y] toda forma que se mueve dentro del radio de su presencia, se trueca por maravillosa simpatía en encarnación del espíritu que alienta en ella. (59)

'Es lógico suponer', Shelley continued, 'que el frecuente retorno de la potencia poética puede producir en el ánimo un hábito de orden y armonía correlativo con su propia naturaleza y con sus efectos sobre otras inteligencias' (62—63). Like the directing intellectuals of Rodó and Jiménez, Shelley's poet 'es *más delicadamente organizado* que los demás, y es sensible al dolor y al placer, tantos propios como ajenos, en un grado para ellos desconocidos' (63) [My emphasis]. Thus he will the better be able to bring about the redemption of the masses. One is also reminded of the 'perturbados' of the '98. Jiménez's multiple underscoring of 'Los poetas son los legisladores desconocidos del mundo' (66) and the note 'Estraordinario' pencilled at the end of Shelley's essay on love suggests that Shelley had struck a resonant chord in Jiménez's mind as the emergent 'ética-estética' began to be formulated. The idea enshrined in the phrase 'la obra en marcha', the 'sucesión' towards that final goal was conceived in the intellectual context

described in this study. It is for this reason that we must have a full understanding of Jiménez's apprenticeship and of the nature of the Modernist movement. Without it Jiménez's later ideas lack their proper perspective. After 1912 the works of Rabindranath Tagore were to prove as attractive and compelling. It is the choice to pursue the 'fuerzas' of refined sensibility rather than Decadent perversion which marks the first step forward on that quest for 'una ética-estética'. Aesthetic response to latent harmonic and ethically imperative forces is to be the key which gives access to the hidden spiritual ground on which vital aspirations could rest. This, in turn, as Jiménez suggested to Guerrero Ruiz, was to prove the foundation stone for the poetry of self-discovery of the Generation of 1927.

V. EPILOGUE

Thus Díaz-Plaja's general assumption that no particular aesthetic ideal is to be perceived in Jiménez's juvenilia may now be modified. Juan Ramón constantly refers in his 'history' of Modernism to Silva and the 'mystic' poets of the nineteenth century. One reason lies in the question of *tradición* and the search for 'la sustancia del pueblo'. Another may lie in Díez-Canedo's assertion that

Almas de violeta, . . . , insiste en la nota más sencilla, más íntima, precursora de los primeros versos enteramente personales de Jiménez de las *Arias tristes* y otras colecciones similares. (30)

This book, along with a handful of poems from *Ninfeas*, most closely echoes the themes and the allusive expression of the *tono menor* poets. Jiménez's original contribution lies in the development and adaptation of this strain into the new 'delicadeza como una fuerza'. Juan Ramón's comment in conversation to Gullón that '[e]staba [yo] en una línea española, con las influencias propias de nuestro romanticismo . . . cuando apareció Darío. Fue un deslumbramiento momentáneo, y esa es la hora en que escribo *Ninfeas*. Luego viajé a Francia y allá la nostalgia de lo español me lleva a escribir *Rimas*, pero no ya como *Ninfeas*, sino como los romances primeros. Darío se interpuso, sin poder yo evitarlo, en mi camino propio, y me desvió' (102) would confirm it. Juan Ramón, spurred on by insight (*criticismo*), had begun to develop a type of 'mystic' (idealistic) poetry rooted in some sort of artistic *intrahistoria* which he dimly perceived radiating from the poetry of popular tradition and associated with the great poets of the past. Thus

as he set off to France he was already returning to a path which he had, in reality, never left. When he later wrote 'vino, primera, pura' he was saying that in his youthful days in Seville he could see clearly his idealistic good. It was only later that he began to lose sight of it in the refinements and the probing of the aesthetic perception of the world about him. He was not to regain the clarity of perception until after 1912 when he rigorously reappraised his craft in the Residencia de Estudiantes. There, once again, significantly in the centre of Krausist influence with renewed friendship with Giner, the friendship of Unamuno and exposed to other intuitive philosophies like those of Bergson⁸ as well as Rabindranath Tagore, he began to perceive that divinity of purpose which was sharpened by the journey across the Atlantic and recorded in the verses of *Dario de un poeta recién-casado*.

In January 1900 Timoteo Orbe solemnly warned Juan Ramón, on returning the manuscript of his first unpublished collection *Nubes*, '[n]o quite la parte primera, Juanito, y mire bien lo de la segunda. Cuidado con esos *mercuriales* franceses y de la joven América'. His advice, in retrospect, was to be well-timed. Orbe's review praised the idealism of the youthful *moguereño's* verses. His commentary, coloured by an evident Krausist idealism, served as an eloquent prelude to the collections which followed as Jiménez regained an earlier path that was to lead to the moral and ethical aesthetic which the Nobel citation recorded. Orbe continued,

Jiménez tiene lo esencial: un gran temperamento de artista y de poeta; lo demás, lo meramente formado vendrá con los años, que suelen traer la moderación y la prudencia y ese vivo sentido de las cosas justas. Jiménez llegará donde los buenos; yo creo en él.

Jiménez fulfilled that promise. To argue, as many contemporary commentators have done, that Jiménez was a 'neurasténico' who lived in a private and hermetic world of thought speaking only to himself is patently misguided.

Despite the Nobel award, Jiménez's work and the origins and early history of Modernism have been neglected by critics and historians of European literature as a whole. Along with Unamuno and Antonio Machado, Jiménez had begun that quest for 'selfhood' and ethical certainty which R. Shattuck in *The Banquet Years* and C. M. Bowra in *The Creative Experiment* (London 1949) have affirmed as the unifying feature of modern European literature. Their appearance at the outset of the century in a united purpose (although outwardly at odds) when

in other countries isolated figures were moving tentatively towards a similar ideal would demonstrate as Shaw has remarked, 'that however undeveloped Spain was in other ways at the turn of the century, she was in the forefront of modern cultural developments'.⁹ This study considers the apprenticeship of that long lifetime's dedication to man's spiritual purpose through an understanding of Beauty and 'el sabor espiritual de la vida' (*TG*, 134). From doubt and despair he was to struggle towards some form of belief in immortality and in a 'Dios sucesivo'. In death, he wrote in 1948, if man's life has been 'sucesiva', 'su resto ejemplar de hueso se convierta en abono supremo, porque yo creo en el movimiento, la emoción, lo único que puede perdurar por sí mismo en cualquier obra humana, . . . contajia todo el resto' (*TG*, 126). The stress on movement, evolution and constant struggle suggests the élitist view of the 'perturbados' of the 98 who transfer value from the possession of faith to the unceasing struggle for its attainment. Jiménez's 'sucesión' suggests that spiritual unrest is preferable to serenity. It also suggests that the ideal lies within the evolutionary force itself, that the still centre lies within the dynamic force: *éstatico dinámico*. The conclusions of Paul Olson's *Circle of Paradox* might be reassessed in the light of the findings here. As Jiménez struggled towards that glimpse of eternity he reminded himself that 'vivimos por un equilibrio de análisis': the tension between insight and the search for the nucleus? 'Yo no sé si la vida toda es un engaño, una ilusión', he went on, 'pero si lo es, debemos mantener la ilusión y el engaño que nos sostiene de una manera conveniente a todos los hombres' (*TG*, 133). In this statement we perceive that Jiménez belongs to that generation of 'perturbados' who emerged at the end of the nineteenth-century in Spain to produce a significant revival in Spanish letters. As such Jiménez's *Modernismo* belongs as much to a cultural and ideological phenomenon as to a specific aesthetic group. His formation in the latter was the prerequisite for his participation in the former. It was this experience which was the essential preparation for the eventual emergence of Jiménez as a major poet of this century and as a significant European thinker. This study has attempted to show that Jiménez, from the outset, was not the 'poeta enclaustrado' who 'desde su torre de marfil . . . puede (sic) otear allá abajo a los hombres que se afanaban miserablemente y cuyos afanes nunca compartió ni le interesan', a victim of his own 'subjetivismo egoísta' that Cernuda and others¹⁰ have attempted to portray. His work was intended, as he suggested in a letter to the mayor of Moguer in 1948, as 'una justificación de una vida de trabajo vocativo'.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Among those who suggest that the importance of *modernismo* can be limited to matters of form and literary technique and associated with an aggressive cult of beauty for its own sake we might include: P. Salinas, *Literatura española, siglo XX*, (Mexico 1949), 13; D. Alonso, *Poetas españoles contemporáneos*, (Madrid 1958), 90—92; P. Laín Entralgo, *La generación del noventa y ocho*, (Madrid 1958); G. Díaz-Plaja, *Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho*, (Madrid 1951) and R. Silva Castro, '¿Es posible definir el modernismo?', *CA*, XXIV, 4 (1965), 172—179.
- 2 F. de Onís, *Antología de la poesía española e hispanoamericana*, (1882—1932), (Madrid 1934), xv. Compare also Isaac Goldberg's comment fourteen years earlier that Modernism 'is an age of spiritual unrest', *Studies in Spanish-American Literature*, (New York 1920), 1—2; and his *La literatura hispanoamericana*, (Madrid 1930). See also J. E. Rodó, *Rubén Darío*, (Montevideo 1899); A. Melián Lafinur, *Literatura contemporánea*, (Buenos Aires 1918); A. Zum Felde, *Crítica de la literatura uruguaya*, (Montevideo 1921); E. Díez-Canedo, 'Rubén Darío, Juan Ramon Jiménez y los comienzos del modernismo en España', *El Hijo Pródigo*, 9 (1943), 145—151; A. del Río, 'Notas sobre crítica y poesía en Juan Ramón Jiménez: El Modernismo', *LT*, 19—20 (1957), 27—50 and R. Gullón, *Direcciones del modernismo*, (Madrid 1963). Y. Moretič's 'Acercas de las raíces ideológicas del modernismo hispanoamericano', *Philologica Pragensis*, 8 (1965), 45—53, is one of the few studies to submit the problem of ideology to serious examination. M. Henríquez Ureña attempts to combine both points of view by dividing the movement, rather unconvincingly, into two phases, *Breve historia del modernismo*, (Mexico 1954).
- 3 With regard to *modernismo* in Spain see M. Machado, *La guerra literaria (1898—1914)*, (Madrid 1913); Salinas, *Literatura española* and their following, who are representative of the first group. L. Alas, 'Cartas a Hamlet: Revista de ideas (1898)', *Siglo pasado*, (Madrid 1901); J. Valera, *Ecos argentinos*, (Buenos Aires 1943 [1897]), 86—87, 226 and Maragall 'Tristeza literaria' (1899), *O. C.*, (Barcelona 1947), 879—881 are probably the earliest examples in Spain of the second. For reasons which will become clear I prefer to accept the witness of the perceptive intellectuals of the period.
- 4 *BHS*, XLIV (1967), 139.
- 5 R. Gullón, *Direcciones* and *La invención del 98 y otros ensayos*, (Madrid 1969); I. A. Schulman, 'Los supuestos "Precursores" del modernismo

- hispanoamericano', *NRFH*, 12 (1958), 61—64; Idem., 'Reflexiones en torno a la definición del modernismo', *CA*, XXVII, 1 (1968), 268—70; M. P. González, *Notas en torno al modernismo*, (Mexico 1958) and *Indagaciones martianas*, (Santa Clara, Universidad Central de las Villas 1961).
- 6 'Modernismo: A Contribution to the Debate', *BHS*, 44 (1967), 195—202. Shaw, as far as I know, is the first to be specific about the type of Romanticism that informs the so-called 'Romantic' aspects of *modernismo*. See also his *A Literary History of Spain: The Nineteenth Century*, (New York-London 1972) and the insufficiently known 'Il concetto di finalit  nella letteratura spagnola dell 'Ottocento', *Convivium*, XXVIII (1960), 553—61.
- 7 H. Ramsden, *The Spanish 'Generation of 1898'*, (The John Rylands University Library of Manchester 1974) (JRL) and *The 1898 Movement in Spain* (Manchester University Press 1974).
- 8 In 'La r volution m taphysique', *L'Homme r volt *, (Paris 1951) Camus gives memorable expression to what we now can see was the innermost aspect of the Romantic world view. M. Peckham, 'Towards a Theory of Romanticism', *PMLA*, 66 (1951), 5—23 restates this new line of thought.
- 9 Ramsden, *JRL*, 35 and 37.
- 10 For a fuller discussion of this aspect with regard to Dar o see my 'Dar o and *El arte puro*: The Enigma of Life and the Beguilement of Art', *BHS*, XLVII (1970), 37—51.
- 11 In my 'Decadentisme: Enfonsament o regeneraci  espiritual?' soon to be published in Barcelona I argue that the Modernist movement in Catal  nia had a coherent ideology. This study suggests that Modernism in Spain had a similar outlook from which Jim nez derived the idealism which inspired the *Helios* group.
- 12 *Estudios sobre poes a espa ola contempor nea*, (Madrid 1970), 59 and 61. See also J. Campos, 'Los problemas del modernismo', *In*, 245 (1967), 11; N. Alonso Cort s, 'Salvador Rueda y la poes a de su tiempo', *AUM*, 2 (1933), 78—79; G. Brotherston, *Manuel Machado: A Revaluation*, (Cambridge 1968), 99—100; E. D ez-Canedo, 'Los comienzos del modernismo en Espa a', *Estudios de poes a espa ola contempor nea*, (Mexico 1965). While Dar o could argue rather patronisingly that 'En Am rica hemos tenido ese movimiento antes que en la Espa a castellana' he did admit that 'nuestro modernismo . . . nos va dando un puesto aparte, independiente de la literatura castellana', 'El modernismo', *O. C.*, III, 302—303. Against critics like Cernuda and Campos we must set Siebenmann who argues that 'en cuanto a la debatida cuesti n de una eventual prioridad cronol gica de un supuesto modernismo vernacular en Espa a . . . , no le vamos a dar m s importancia de la que se merece, puesto que los problemas de influencia y contagio literarios ya no se pueden tomar tan en serio', 'Reinterpretaci n del modernismo', apud G. Bleiberg and E. Inman Fox, *Spanish Thought and Letters in the Twentieth Century*, (Nashville 1966), 507, a view supported by M. Henr quez Ure a, *Breve historia*, 501—502.
- 13 G. D az-Plaja, *Juan Ram n Jim nez en su poes a*, (Madrid 1958); D. F. Fogelquist, *Juan Ram n Jim nez: Vida y obra*, (New York 1958); R. Gull n, *Conversaciones con Juan Ram n*, (Madrid 1958); Idem., *Monu-*

- mento de amor, (Puerto Rico 1959); Idem., *Cartas de A. Machado a Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Puerto Rico 1959); Idem., *Estudios sobre Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Buenos Aires 1960); Idem., *Relaciones amistosas y literarias entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y los Martínez Sierra*, (Puerto Rico 1961); B. Gicovate, *La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez — ensayo de exégesis*, (University of Tulane-Puerto Rico 1959); J.-L. Schonberg, *Juan Ramón Jiménez ou le chant d'Orphée*, (Neuchâtel 1962); A. Sánchez-Barbudo, *La segunda época de Juan Ramón Jiménez (1916—1953)*, (Madrid 1962); Idem., *Cincuenta poemas comentados*, (Madrid 1963); B. Ciplijauskaite, *La soledad y la poesía española contemporánea*, (Madrid 1962), Basilio de Pablos, *El tiempo en la poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1965).
- 14 L. R. Cole, *The Religious Instinct in the Poetry of Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Oxford 1967); P. R. Olson, *Circle of Paradox. Time and Essence in the Poetry of Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Baltimore 1967); M. P. Predmore, *La obra en prosa de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1966); S. R. Ulibarri, *El mundo poético de Juan Ramón*, (Madrid 1962); H. T. Young, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (New York-London 1967); C. del Saz-Orozco, S. J., *Desarrollo del concepto de Dios en el pensamiento religioso de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1966). Since submitting the manuscript the following major studies have appeared. For the most part they are concerned with Jiménez's so-called 'second phase' after 1916: Aurora de Albornoz, *Nueva antología*, (Barcelona 1973); *Selección de cartas: 1899—1958*, (Barcelona 1973); B. Gicovate, *La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez. Obra en marcha*, (Barcelona 1973); A. González, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1973); M. P. Predmore, *La poesía hermética de Juan Ramón Jiménez: el 'Diario' como centro de su mundo poético*, (Madrid 1973); A. Crespo, *Juan Ramón Jiménez y la pintura*, (Barcelona-Puerto Rico University Press 1974); A. del Villar, *Crítica paralela*, (Madrid 1975); C. Santos-Escudero, *Símbolos y Dios en el último Juan Ramón. El influjo oriental en 'Dios deseado y deseante'*, (Madrid 1975); *La obra desnuda*, ed. A. del Villar, (Seville 1976); Isabel Paraíso de Leal, *Juan Ramón Jiménez. Vivencia y palabra*, (Madrid 1976); D. F. Fogelquist, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Twayne, New York 1976). The publication of these studies suggests that Jiménez still attracts critical interest nearly twenty years after his death. And yet, for all of the increase in interest, the tendency to concentrate on the mature work remains, a tendency this monograph seeks to correct.
- 15 Many critics are content to describe influences by simply glossing Jiménez's own accounts. See for example: Garfias, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, 24, 41 and 43; Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía*, 54—55, 118, 121—131; Díez-Canedo, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su obra*, 107—128; Palau, *Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez* (Madrid 1957), 42—43, 62, 79; Garfias' prologue to *PLP*, 30, 37, 53, 55—57, 62; and to *LPr*, 11, 14—15, 33. The most extreme example is probably A. Caballero, *LP*, xx, xxiii-xxiv, xxx, xl.

CHAPTER ONE: AN IDEAL FOR LIFE

- 1 G. Palau de Nemes' two biographies of Jiménez give full details: *Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1957) and *Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez: La poesía desnuda*, (Madrid 1974), 2a edición completamente renovada. Hereinafter *P I* and *P II*. See also Francisco Quesada, 'La vida escolar del insigne poeta, referida por un condiscípulo suyo', *ABC*, 27-XII-1956; Joaquín María Carretero, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y el Colegio del Puerto. Nuevos datos para la biografía', *ABC*, 18-XII-1964; Juan Ramón Jiménez, 'Habla el poeta, (Nota autobiográfica)', *Renacimiento*, 7 (1907), 422—26 and A. González Blanco, 'Memento auto-bio-biográfico', *Los contemporáneos*, Primera serie. I, (Paris 1907), 146—221.
- 2 Carlos del Saz-Orozco, S. J., *Desarrollo del concepto de Dios en el pensamiento religioso de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1966), 15. Hereinafter *S-O*.
- 3 Seventeen *cantares* were published in a *número extraordinario* of *El Programa*, 18, 1-VI-1899. Saz-Orozco had access to a copy of fourteen of them among the papers of Jiménez in the Archive in Puerto Rico. These and other poems from *El Programa* have been reprinted recently by Rafael Pérez Delgado, 'Primicias de Juan Ramón Jiménez', *PSA*, Año XIX, Tomo LXXIII, Núm ccxvii (1974), 13—49, in part in *P II* and in full in the appendix to my article 'Juan Ramón Jiménez and the Decadence', *Revista de Letras*, 23—24 (1974), 291—341.
- 4 M. Alcalá, *Buñuel (Cine e ideología)*, (Madrid 1973), 151.
- 5 Jiménez's painting departs from traditional interpretations of the Crucifixion in a number of respects: the loneliness of Christ is emphasised; the dominant tones of grey and black emphasise the gloom and the melancholy hopelessness rather than the triumph of the Cross; the angle of vision accentuates the sense of huge abandonment of Christ Who at the last hour lost His faith upon Calvary. See A. Crespo, *Juan Ramón Jiménez y la pintura*, (Barcelona-Puerto Rico University Press 1974).
- 6 Rafael Cansinos-Assens, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez', *La nueva literatura*, I, (Madrid 1917), 155—70; A. González Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, I, 146—221.
- 7 Ramón Gómez de la Serna, 'La visita al Moguer de Juan Ramón', *Tapices*, (Madrid 1916), 101—17; Idem., *Retratos contemporáneos*, (Buenos Aires 1944), 19—63; J. Guerrero Ruiz, *Juan Ramón de viva voz*, (Madrid 1961), passim; R. Alberti, *La arboleda perdida*, (Buenos Aires 1959), 212—13 and Cansinos-Assens, *Poetas y prosistas del novecientos (España y América)*, (Madrid 1919), 248.
- 8 B. Gicovate, 'El modernismo y su historia', *HR*, 32 (1964), 221. For Juan Ramón's arguments see *Mod*, 52—53 and Proel, 'El poeta Juan Ramón Jiménez', *La Voz*, 18-III-1935.
- 9 G. Díaz-Plaja, *Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho*, (Madrid 1966), 8.
- 10 R. Ferreres, *Los límites del modernismo y del 98*, (Madrid 1964), 64, n. 42.
- 11 E. Valentí i Fiol, *El primer modernismo catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos*, (Barcelona 1973); J. López-Morillas, *Hacia el '98*, (Barcelona 1972).
- 12 By the late 1830s orthodox intellectual opinion in Spain clamoured for

- reassurance that their traditional beliefs and allegiances were still surely founded. Balmes' *El protestantismo comparado con el catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilización europea* (1844), *El criterio* (1845) and *Cartas a un escéptico en materia de religión* (1846) were among the earliest of many strenuous efforts to revive philosophical studies in Spain on an orthodox Scholastic basis. In 1851 Donoso Cortés came to Balmes' support with his *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo*. In line with the temper of Pius XI's *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors* of 1864 Zeferino González had undertaken the restoration of Thomism in Spain. Gumersindo Laverde Ruiz's essay on religious, philosophical and cultural topics prepared the way for the massive defence of all that was sacred and traditional in Spanish life and culture begun by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's *Polémicas de la ciencia española* (1876), soon to be followed by *Horacio en España* (1877) and the monumental *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* in 1880 and 1882. For a general survey see D. L. Shaw's indispensable *A Literary History of Spain: The Nineteenth Century*, (London-New York 1972) hereinafter *History*; M. Méndez Bejarano, *Historia de la filosofía en España hasta el siglo XX*, (Madrid 1928) and Valentí, *El primer modernismo*.
- 13 See Valentí, *El primer modernismo*, 45 and E. Tierno Galván, *Tradición y modernismo*, (Madrid 1962), 75.
 - 14 According to C. A. M. Hennessy Seville was 'a centre of Hegelianism and Krausism', *The Federal Republik in Spain*, (Oxford 1962), 56. See also P. Jobit, *Les Éducateurs de l'Espagne contemporaine*, (Paris 1936), II, 54 ff.
 - 15 See Valentí, *El primer modernismo*, 45 who moderates my view and A. Jiménez, *Ocaso y restauración*, (Mexico 1948), 141 who emphasises the heterogeneous and catholic nature of the Krausist groups. Jiménez drew attention to the problem in *Mod*, 158.
 - 16 See my forthcoming 'Decadentisme: Enfonsament o regeneració espiritual?' and my references to the work of Joan-Lluís Marfany and J. M. McCarthy.
 - 17 J. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, (London 1911), 62.
 - 18 The passage reads: 'Novalis, con Emerson, con Carlyle, con Ruskin, son los padres de un neo-idealismo y hasta de un neo-misticismo, cuyos fundamentos y ortodoxia no hemos ahora de discutir, pero cuya existencia es evidente... hasta entre nosotros mismos', O. C. 919, (1901).
 - 19 J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, (London 1906), II, 31.
 - 20 See Cacho Viu's comment that 'En el *Ideal*, el arte de la vida pasa aquí a ocupar un primer plano relevante: actividad artística equivale a plena y total actividad, la única que de una manera estricta merece este nombre. Obra artística es el sinónimo de obra bien hecha. "Realizar lo mejor en cada punto, constituye, pues, una ley artística de la vida"', *La institución libre de enseñanza. I. Orígenes y etapa universitaria*, (Madrid 1962), 83. The quotation is from Sanz del Río's *Lecciones sumarias de psicología*, O. C., IV, 75.
 - 21 *Les Éducateurs*, I, 230—32. See also Cacho Viu, *op. cit.*, 123—26; J. López Morillas, *El krausismo español*, (Mexico 1956), 142—63; A. Kerkvoords and O. Rousseau, *Le Mouvement Théologique dans le monde contemporain*, (Paris 1961), 106 and Valentí, *El primer modernismo*, 61 and 77.

- 22 The Schlegel brothers were also translated into Spanish: F. Schlegel, *Historia de la literatura antigua y moderna*, (Madrid 1843); A. W. Schlegel, *Lecciones sobre la historia y la teoría de las bellas artes*, (Valencia 1854). The whole tone of Giner de los Ríos' 'Del género de poesía más propio de nuestro siglo', (1865), *Estudios de literatura y arte*, (Madrid 1875) is coloured by German Idealist aesthetics, especially those of Schelling.
- 23 W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, (London-Glasgow 1963) and the section 'Neurology and Religion' in particular. For the situation in Spain see M. Méndez Bejarano, *Historia*; T. Peraza de Ayala, *La psiquiatría española en el siglo XIX*, (Madrid 1947); J. Espinosa Iborra, *La asistencia psiquiátrica en la España del siglo XIX*, (Valencia 1966) and their extensive bibliographies.
- 24 As H. Ramsden has shown in *JRUL*, this was particularly true of the Generation of 1898. My 'Decadentism: Enfonsament o regeneració espiritual?' considers this aspect with regard to Catalan Modernism and offers a weight of mutually supporting evidence for the arguments rehearsed here. The same phenomenon, as we shall see, is to be found in the Spanish manifestation of Modernism.
- 25 B. M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge 1966), 41. See also N. Smart, *Historical Selections in the Philosophy of Religion*, (London 1962). Aldous Huxley also points to the need for the practice of serenity, tranquillity of mind and simplicity of life as necessary conditions for the attainment of the fruits of the spirit in all mystical religions, *The Perennial Philosophy*, (London 1946), chapter 22, 'Emotionalism'. Many of the traditionally-minded mandarins of the age in Spain were unable to understand how the young writers of the *fin de siècle* were able to be both sceptical and yet enjoy 'mystic' propensities. Baroja's prologue to J. Martínez Ruiz's *Fuerza de amor* (1901) seems to recognise the dilemma clearly: 'Aquí no se convence a nadie de que un hombre pueda sentirse íntimamente religioso y al poco tiempo íntimamente descreído', J. Martínez Ruiz, *O. C.*, I, 738.
- 26 Quoted by Jiménez in 'Mis primeros romances', *LPr*, 1228.
- 27 Juan Ramón's earliest contacts with the intellectual life of the liberal centres in Seville were in 1895: see D. Vázquez Díaz, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez: Premio Nobel, 1956', *ABC*, 11-XI-1956. Compare Jiménez's account in *TG*, 220 and his summer holidays there with Villalón, *CI*, 85—86. Jiménez seems to have had considerable intellectual stimulus in Moguer: *LPr*, 1207—08 and Proel, 'El poeta Juan Ramón Jiménez', *La Voz*, 18-III-1935. In the long *tertulias* with his uncles he seems to have taken a personal and unconventional line which upset his mother, *LPr*, 1221.
- 28 For an interesting discussion of the relationship between religious outlook and temperament and some persuasive parallels in the case of Jiménez see Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy*, 159—160. If it is objected that Jiménez did not suffer these influences directly it could be argued that the German and English Romantic writers whom he read would have expressed similar sentiments. Saz-Orozco makes the point that '[a]sí aparece el dios juanramoniano, con hondas raíces en el panteísmo idealista, corriente que baja por los cauces literarios gustados por Juan Ramón, desde la literatura pre-romántica alemana', *S-O*, 213.

- 29 Jiménez, *Ocaso y restauración*, 104. My emphasis.
- 30 Palique, (Madrid 1893), 275.
- 31 See Alas' *Apolo en Pafos. Folletos literarios III*, (Madrid 1887) and *Mezclilla*, (Madrid 1889).
- 32 See Jiménez's review of Villaespesa's *La copa del rey de Thule*, 'Elogio del poeta' (1899), *LPr*, 211; *TG*, 224—25; *Mod*, 174, 190 and *passim*.
- 33 H. Ramsden's excellent study of *The 1898 Movement in Spain*, (Manchester University Press 1974) supports this view. 'The quest for Spain is also a quest for personal roots. . . . The 'quest' for Spain through literature' is merely an aspect of the 'quest for self through literature'. In both cases the author is concerned to find some form of 'roca viva' relevant to himself', 189. See also D. Basdekis, *Unamuno and Spanish Literature*, (University of California Press 1967), 1. For Jiménez, as for Unamuno, the mystics seemed to reconcile the personal desire for solace and comfort with some eternal harmony, 'sosiego eterno'.
- 34 'La poesía mística en España', *Estudios de crítica histórica y literaria*, (Santander 1941), II, 110. First published in 1881 in the *Discursos de ingreso de la Real Academia Española*.
- 35 The quotation from Menéndez y Pelayo actually read: 'Pero aun hay una poesía más angélica, celestial y divina, que ya no parece de este mundo, ni es posible medirla con criterios literarios, y eso que es más ardiente de pasión que ninguna poesía profana y tan elegante y exquisita en la forma, y tan plástica y figurativa como los más sabrosos frutos del Renacimiento, son las *Canciones* espirituales de San Juan de la Cruz, la *Subida del monte Carmelo*, la *Noche oscura del alma*. Confieso que infunde religioso terror al tocarlas', *Ensayos*, II, 97.
- 36 See R. Darío, O. C., V, 746. For a critical discussion see I. A. Schulman, 'Génesis del azul modernista' and R. Silva Castro, 'El ciclo de 'lo azul' en Rubén Darío', *ECM*, 168—89 & 146—67. Jiménez counted Martí as 'un poeta natural', that is, a poet whose style corresponded to the simple, unaffected and 'instinctive' style which he admired in the Spanish regional poets and in Silva, R. Gullón, *Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1958), 55 & 58—59.
- 37 See R. Otto, *Mysticism East and West, A Comparative Analysis of the Nature of Mysticism*, (New York 1960), 59. In Plotinus (*Ennead VI*) and in Kantian and Hegelian aesthetics such an intuition leads to self-knowledge which, by spiritual struggle, becomes 'knowledge *a priori*', that is, the absolute recognition of the existence of Divinity without recourse to any rational process. Bécquer seems to have recognised this in a remark which follows the syllogistic sophistry of the opening premise of *Carta literaria IV*: 'La lógica sabe fraguar razonamientos inatacables, que, a pesar de todo, no convencen. . . . En cambio, la convicción última suele persuadir, aunque en el método del raciocinio reine el mayor desorden. ¡Tan irresistible es el acento de la fe!', O. C., 631. This comment is very much in tune with Krausist thought and that of Ruskin and Carlyle as understood in Spain.
- 38 'This incommunicableness of the transport is the keynote of all mysticism. Mystical truth exists for the individual who has the transport, but for no one else. In this . . . it resembles the knowledge given by conceptual thought', James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 391. See also

- James' definition of 'mysticism' which accurately expresses the outlook of the *fin de siècle* on the nature of religious experience, 366—68. James' categories seem to summarise exactly the accounts of Bécquer and Jiménez. See L. R. Cole, *The Religious Instinct in the Poetry of Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Oxford 1967). A similar interest in 'mysticism' was to be found in the work of Fr. Paulhan where an attempt was made to unite the physiological and psychological sciences with the awareness of the 'new' spirituality. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the work of U. González Serrano and J. Maragall from the late 1870s onwards.
- 39 'Habla el poeta', 422. See also B. Ciprijauskaitė, *La soledad y la poesía española contemporánea*, (Madrid 1962), 105—10 and 'Enfermedad, soledad, renuncia, fueron mi juventud, hasta los veintiocho años', *LPr*, 1218. See also *LPr*, 1203.
 - 40 N. Smart, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, (London 1969), 561.
 - 41 The majority of the magazines read by Juan Ramón in the 1890s frequently reproduced translations of Oriental writers and Eastern sacred texts. The vogue had been present for a considerable time in Spain and can be traced back to Arolas and El conde de Noroña. In Jiménez's library there are studies on Oriental religions, Oriental erotic literature and other studies, artistic and literary, on the following writers: Omar Khayyám, Hafis, Confucius, Mencius, Hokusai, Lafcadio Hearn, Kalidasa, Tagore, Saadi, Yang Chu, Santideva, Shi-Ching, Jami, *The Upanishads*, *The Sayings of Buddha*, *The Ramayana*, *The Mahabharata*, *The Koran* and the *Talmud*.
 - 42 For the background to this crisis see: J. López-Morillas, *Hacia el '98*, (Barcelona 1972); D. L. Shaw's valuable 'Il concetto di finalit  nella letteratura spagnola dell'Ottocento', *Convivium*, 28 (1960), 553—61; Idem, *History* and J. Marías, 'Ideologías del novecientos', *RUBA*, 4 (1949), 412—423.
 - 43 F. Garfias, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, (Madrid 1958), 24. See also G. Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía*, (Madrid 1958), 29 and 'Leía nerviosamente letras románticas: Lamartine, Bécquer, Espronceda, Heine...', 'Habla el poeta', 423.
 - 44 Published in *Vida Nueva*, 50, 25-V-1899 and in *El Programa*, 18, 1-VI-1899. The 'nevermore' theme was to be a dominant one in Jiménez's early poetry as a result of his intense interest in Poe (as with Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Verlaine and Machado). He was to quote 'The Raven' in the preface to *Laberinto*, *PLP*, 1289. All the poems published in *Vida Nueva* have been reprinted by M. García Blanco, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y la revista *Vida Nueva*', (1899—1900), *Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso*, (Madrid 1961), II, 31—72. García Blanco missed two contributions: 'Sarcasmo', 47, 30-IV-1899 and 'Rejas de oro' reprinted *LPr*, 214—20. 'Sarcasmo' is reprinted in my article and that of Pérez Delgado, note 3 supra.
 - 45 *El Programa*, 20, 30-VII-1899.
 - 46 *Vida Nueva*, 42, 26-III-1899. Palau de Nemes suggests that this poem is didactic in that it attacks the vices of high society albeit in verses wherein 'predominaban el colorido, las luces, la cadencia' of *colorismo*, *P II*, 100. The accent on sensual delight is meant to contrast with and emphasise the horror of 'la horrible destrucción de la hermosura' at the conclusion of the poem.

- 47 *El Programa*, 15, 2-II-1899.
- 48 Fr. Paulhan, *Le Nouveau Mysticisme*, (Paris 1891).
- 49 See A. González-Blanco, *Historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días*, (Madrid 1909), 'Llanas Aguilianiedo es de los decadentes, de los enfermizos, de los torturados, de los modernos, en fin. Nadie ha llegado en España a los refinamientos exquisitos que este autor ostenta', 87.
- 50 See L. E. Davis, 'Oscar Wilde in Spain', *CLit* 25, (1973), 136—52.
- 51 *Esquisses*, (*Siluetas de escritores y artistas*), (Madrid 1892), 19.
- 52 'Juan Ramón Jiménez, sus vivencias y sus tendencias simbolistas', *Nosotros*, I (segunda época), 1 (1936), 19.
- 53 'Aunque yo estaba en Sevilla para *pintar* y para *estudiar Filosofía y letras*, me pasaba el día y la noche escribiendo y leyendo en un pupitre del Ateneo sevillano, viendo desde él a Rodríguez Marín, Montoto y Raustentrauch (sic), Velilla, etcétera, que estaban siempre discutiendo, y con la ilusión de ser, algún día, como ellos', *CI*, 230. In 1953 he recalled of his affair with Rosalina Brau: 'Yo pintando, escribiendo y diciendo a mi familia que estudiaba en la Universidad, y Rosalina siempre en un balcón...', 'Isla de la simpatía (Prólogo muy particular)', *Asomante*, I (1953), 5. Juan Ramón also recalled how 'leía, leía atropellada, revuelta-mente, cuánto caía en mi mano' and that he was in contact with all the young writers, *LPr*, 1218. See also note 27 supra.
- 54 See M. Fernández Almagro, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y algunos poetas andaluces de su juventud', *Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso*, I, 493—507; A. Sánchez Trigueros, *El Modernismo en la poesía andaluza*, Granada, Tesis doctorales de la Universidad de Granada, 54, 1974. The correspondence with Redel has been collected in *Cartas*, 25—30.
- 55 *TG*, 218—35. Another of his elder critics was Luis Montoto who knew the Machado family well. The strongly orthodox leanings of Montoto are well known. Manuel Machado collaborated with him in the production of *Amor al vuelo* (1904) on his return to the Catholic fold, see J. G. Brotherston, *Manuel Machado: A Revaluation*, (Cambridge University Press 1968), 31.
- 56 It would appear that even in Seville as early as 1899 the word *modernismo*, like the word *naturalismo* in the critical press of the 1880s, had specific meanings in specific contexts. If *modernismo* was applied as a label to literary manifestations in Madrid, especially when associated with Darío or French literature, it was used as a term of reproof or pejoration. When applied to 'acceptable' thematic matter cast in the newest artistic mode it implied a guarded commendation. José R. Garay, for example, writing under the title 'Prólogo... que no es prólogo. (Del libro próximo a publicarse *Novelas y cuentos* de Modesto Pineda), *El Programa*, 21, 3-IX-1899, noted that Pineda was 'un espíritu culto formado por el estudio de la literatura contemporánea, especialmente de la francesa; amantísimo del arte y de los nuevos procedimientos; dotado de fina percepción y rico de fantasía; *modernista*, en el buen sentido de la palabra'. It would appear that *modernista* thematic content rather than formal expression met the greater opposition.
- 57 J. Ma. Cossío, *Cincuenta años de poesía española, (1850—1900)*, (Madrid 1960), 70 and 78. See also 102—08; L. Vidart, 'La escuela poética de

- Sevilla', *Revista de España*, 4 (1868), 337; M. Gutiérrez, 'La oda', *Revista contemporánea*, 46 (1883), 432—43; 47 (1883), 207—08; J. Valera, *Ecos argentinos*, (Buenos Aires 1943), 23 and 80. For an interesting account of the intellectual life of Seville in the 1880s and 1890s see Montoto's *Por aquellas calendas*, (Madrid 1930) and Jobit, *Les Éducateurs*, II, 54 ff.
- 58 Luis Vidart, 'Un prólogo dialogado', *Poesías* de Eloy García Valero, (Seville 1893), vi.
- 59 'Intimidaciones madrileñas: Una visita a Don Antonio de Valbuena', *Madrid Cómico*, 787, 19-III-1898, 244.
- 60 'El Modernismo', *El Nuevo Mercurio*, (agosto 1907), 887.
- 61 *Conversaciones*, 57. See also *Viva voz*, 235—36. For an account of the violent hostility towards the movement see Cacho Viu, *La institución libre* and its extensive bibliography on the subject.
- 62 See Cacho Viu, *La institución libre*, 103 and Brotherston, who traces the relationship of the Krausist circles in Seville and the influence it exerted over A. Machado y Álvarez: 'Antonio Machado y Álvarez and Positivism', *BHS* 41, (1964) 223.
- 63 See Brotherston, 'Antonio Machado y Álvarez and Positivism'; *Manuel Machado*, 4—10; Hennessy, *The Federal Republic in Spain*, ch. 3; M. Pérez Ferrero, *Vida de Antonio Machado y Manuel*, (Buenos Aires 1952), 21 and L. Montoto, *Por aquellas calendas*, (Madrid 1930).
- 64 *El corazón de Jesús y el modernismo. Sermones predicados en Sevilla y en la iglesia del Sagrado Corazón en junio de 1908*, (Madrid 1909).
- 65 'El modernismo', *El Nuevo Mercurio*, (mayo 1907), 510.
- 66 *La literatura del día (1900 a 1903)*, (Barcelona 1903), 16; Maragall, too, had looked for 'una literatura fuerte, vigorizada', 'Tristeza literaria', *O. C.*, 881.
- 67 For a selection of these see Díaz-Plaja, *Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho*, section I, ii and iii. See also J. M. Martínez Cachero, 'Nota sobre el modernismo', *Archivum*, I (1951), 161—165 and the following articles all in *Archivum*: Idem., 'Algunas referencias sobre el antimodernismo español', 3 (1953), 311—333; 'El antimodernismo del poeta Emilio Ferrari', 4 (1954), 368—384; 'Más referencias sobre el antimodernismo español', 5 (1955), 131—135. See also J. Campos, 'Cuando Juan Ramón empezaba', *In*, 128—129 (1957), 9 and 21; C. Lozano, 'Parodia y sátira en el modernismo', *C.A.*, CXXI, 4 (1965), 180—200 and *Ruben Darío y el modernismo en España, 1888—1920* (New York 1968).
- 68 *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Emilio Ferrari el día 30 de abril de 1905*, (Madrid 1905).
- 69 See N. Alonso Cortés, 'Armonía y emoción en Salvador Rueda', *CLC* 7 (1943), 36—48; Idem., 'Salvador Rueda y la poesía de su tiempo', *AUM*, 2 (1933), 71—185; J. M. Martínez Cachero, 'Salvador Rueda y el modernismo', *BBMP*, 34 (1958), 41—61; G. Díaz-Plaja, *Las lecciones amigas*, (Buenos Aires 1966) and *Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho*, 53—55 and 287—293. Díaz-Plaja's account of the attack on *modernismo* is generally viewed in terms of a literary battle, *Modernismo frente*, 49. It is, of course, possible to restrict consideration of *modernismo* to purely literary aspects, but only at the cost of renouncing any attempt to define the movement in terms other than those of a rebellion against 'las tradiciones ya caducas del siglo XIX'. Reference to content becomes fraught

with the most dangerous possibilities as the work of Dámaso Alonso and his disciples has shown and the comments on the critical attitudes in Seville confirm.

- 70 Gullón and Shaw, among others, have argued that *modernismo* has its roots in Romanticism: Gullón, *Direcciones del modernismo*, (Madrid 1963), 14—15, 20, 34, 51—57, 98 and 'Indigenismo y modernismo', *ECM*, 276; Shaw, *History* and 'Modernismo: A Contribution to the Debate', *BHS*, XLIV (1967), 195—202 (hereinafter *Modernismo*). In 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y el modernismo' Gullón catalogues the major symptoms common to both movements without a full explanation of the common spiritual ground, *Mod*, 31—35. His '[e]l mal del siglo romántico fue el tedio; él de la época modernista, la angustia' (34) is an easy oversimplification of the outlook that remained fundamental to both generations, that of a vision of nothingness which Shaw underlines. The differences are marked in the reactions to the common, because unresolved, problem. R. Ferreres' judgement that '[n]o se ha estudiado el aspecto religioso de los escritores considerados modernistas y del 98. Si exceptuamos a Maeztu, y eso después de su cambio religioso, todos bordean la heterodoxia o, por lo menos, profesan una fe no arraigada, con vacilaciones', *Los límites del modernismo*, 39, n. 42, and Palau's comment, *P II*, 312 are directly relevant to the present study which aims to illuminate in some degree the heterodoxy of Jiménez's metaphysical position. Both Cole, *The Religious Instinct* and Saz-Orozco, *Desarrollo del concepto* study the purely religious aspects of Juan Ramón's work. This study attempts to relate Jiménez's spirituality with the ideological situation obtaining in the final decades of the nineteenth century seeking to test the theses of Ramsden and Shaw.

- 71 'Palique', *Madrid Cómico*, XIX, 7, 18-XI-1899, 53.

- 72 A list of the many attacks on the *modernistas* is given in C. Lozano's *Rubén Darío y el modernismo en España, 1888—1920*. R. de Maeztu in an essay under the heading 'Poesía modernista', *Los Lunes de El Imparcial*, 14-IX-1901, 1, argued along Nordau lines to suggest that it was the pernicious influence of the movement which was the primary factor in Jiménez's derangement and which 'le había dado en una casa de alienados', the sanatorium of Castel d'Andorte near Bordeaux. J. Deleito y Piñuela's 'Modernismo', *Gente Vieja*, 30-IV-1902, 1—2 outlined the specific grounds of the subversive nature of the movement to link it with *criticismo*, an argument he was to develop in his attack in *El sentimiento de la tristeza* (Barcelona, n. d.), first published in *La Lectura* in 1911—1912. U. González Serrano ('Los enfermos del ideal', *La vida literaria*, 14, 17-IV-1899, 171) and Maragall ('La nueva generación', 'Tristeza literaria' and 'La neurastenia', [1899]) give more level-headed assessment but also point to the metaphysical dimension of the *mal du siècle*.

- 73 Juan Ramón Jiménez, 37.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONQUERING WORM

- 1 A. Vilanova, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez en su primera época', *Destino*, 1006, 17-XI-1956, 39.
- 2 *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, 24. See also Palau's comments, *P I*, 44 and the insistence on 'una nota fatídica', *P II*, 95.
- 3 See D. L. Shaw, 'Towards an Understanding of Spanish Romanticism', *MLR*, 58 (1963), 190—195; Idem, 'The Anti-Romantic Reaction', *MLR*, 63 (1968), 606—611; 'Modernismo' and *History*.
- 4 *TG*, 220. On the photocopy of the poem in the Archive in Puerto Rico there is a note which reads: 'Versos de un pobre colegial // de los jesuitas // a los catorce años, con los jesuitas. 1895'. Saz-Orozco will not accept this date and suggests 1898—1899, *S-O*, 22. I see no reason to doubt this account. In *Mama Pura* (MS 163/7 in the Jiménez papers in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid) under the title 'Sonetos del Colegio', Jiménez noted (c. 1930) "'Tú, Señor, que de tierra me has creado". Cuando escribí este soneto, uno de los primeros que escribí—tenía yo 15 años y a mi duraba el miedo a Dios que los jesuitas me imbuyen hasta los 14 — creía que había cometido un irreverente atrevimiento, una osadía tremenda, y durante una temporada estuve esperando que Dios me fulminara. (No me atreví a publicarlo hasta 3 años después, en *Vida Nueva*, y aun entonces me duraba el miedo). No lo rompía, eso no, pero le pedía a Dios, perdón de rodillas, por semejante arrogancia'. In conversation in the early 1950s he recalled that '[l]o escribí... arrodillado y tembloroso, con entusiasmo y terror al mismo tiempo, ante mi cama, y me costó larga duda y repetido remordimiento', P. Bilbao Aristegui, 'Cartas y recuerdos de Juan Ramón Jiménez', *Orbis Catholicus*, V, 10 (1962), 266—68. The conventionality of the diction of this sonnet would suggest that the early dating is the correct one. Revised versions are reproduced in *TG*, 221 and *LPr*, 1223.
- 5 *O. C.*, II, 448 which was echoed in 1880 by Rosalía de Castro's 'a tristeza, musa d'os nosos tempos', *O. C.*, 416 and Manuel de la Revilla who revealed that 'el escepticismo poético no es nuevo en España. Casi toda nuestros poetas románticos, señaladamente Espronceda, en él se inspiraron', *Obras*, (Madrid 1883), 64.
- 6 E. Bobadilla, *Baturillo*, (Madrid 1895), 56. See Shaw's *History*, 58—60 for a full discussion.
- 7 *S-O*, 22. See Jiménez's account of his sadness as a child, *LPr*, 1204 and 1217. P. Bilbao Aristegui's argument that Juan Ramón wished to hasten his own death by this prayer seems to be aimed more at saving the poet's religious respectability than getting at the truth, 'Cartas y recuerdos', 266. See also Palau, *P II*, 110, who suggests that Jiménez's belief seems firm in this poem.
- 8 *Vida Nueva*, 83, 7-I-1900. See also 'Pájaro y pajarero' (No. 5) where the prison metaphor is specifically applied. The poet had a copy of *La Revue d'Art dramatique* (Paris) 30 année (avril 1895) which bears the marginalia of the late 1890s. The number was 'Consacré à Henrik Ibsen (à l'occasion de sa 70ème année)' and contained a translation into French of Darío's essay on Ibsen from *Los raros*.
- 9 'Galería de escritores y poetas sevillanos: D. Juan R. Jiménez', *El Pro-*

- grama, 21, 3-IX-1899. By late autumn 1897 Jiménez was back in Moguer and reading widely, especially in the Romantics (*LPr*, 1225—29). He recalled that he enjoyed Lamartine and Musset particularly and that he translated the former for publication in *El Programa* and signed them with a reticent J., (*Viva voz*, 97).
- 10 See also 'A un día feliz', *Vida Nueva*, 65, 24-I-1900; 'Sarcasmo', *Vida Nueva*, 47, 30-IV-1899 and 'El paseo de carruajes', *El Programa*, 15, 2-III-1899 with the final exclamation at the recognition of the loss of illusion. 'Farsa triste' (Inédito) expresses in Romantic terms the theme of *contemptus mundi* of the *Imitation* without the Christian ground of ultimate redemption. These poems are reproduced in the Appendix to my 'Juan Ramón Jiménez and the Decadence', *op. cit.* 'Nocturno' is not, as Palau de Nemes suggests (*P II*, 99) 'filosófico-social' with an 'elemento didáctico' attacking 'los vicios de la sociedad'. There may be disillusionment but it is on the cosmic rather than on the social level.
 - 11 *Solos de Clarín*, (Madrid 1891), 90—93, (first published in 1881). My emphasis. Jiménez employed *sarcasmo* in a specifically sceptical sense in 'Cementerio' (*PLP*, 1479) where the bright sunshine, the silence and the repose of the cemetery are mocked by the 'sarcástica sonrisa' of the niches and the tombstones, silent witnesses to the inexorability of death.
 - 12 Compare with the recognition of nothingness that lies at the centre of the apparently eternal in Espronceda's 'Al sol'. Sánchez-Barbudo has argued that 'este temor (de la muerte) supone ya al menos un oscuro presentimiento de la nada... lo cual ocurriría sólo años más tarde', *La segunda época de Juan Ramón Jiménez (1916—1953)*, (Madrid 1962), 21. This view seems untenable in the light of the present evidence.
 - 13 Inédito. The tolling of the bells may have been suggested by Poe's 'The Bells' which was well known: see J. E. Englekirk, *Poe in Hispanic Literature*, (New York 1934). 'Campanas' (reproduced in the Appendix quoted n. 10 supra) might be compared also with Bécquer's *rimas* LVI, LVII and LX.
 - 14 See Shaw, *History*, 107. S. R. Ulibarri's *El mundo poético de Juan Ramón*, (Madrid 1962) lends support to this view.
 - 15 U. González Serrano, 'El Satanismo y el modernismo en el arte', *La literatura del día*, 35 and J. Maragall, 'Tristeza literaria' (1899), *O. C.*, 881.
 - 16 'A través de un poema: *Castalia bárbara*. El poeta y la obra', *Vida Nueva*, 83, 7-I-1900.
 - 17 L(uis) R(uiz) de V(elasco), 'Los poetas jóvenes. Ricardo Gil', *Madrid Cómico*, XVIII, 786, 12-III-1898.
 - 18 'Precoz', *LPr*, 1218.
 - 19 'Rosalina', *LPr*, 1214. For a full account see Palau, *P II*, 78—80 and E. Ramírez Brau, 'Aclara noviazgo de Juan Ramón', *El Mundo*, (San Juan de Puerto Rico), 7-I-1958.
 - 20 Even a cursory glance at the *Baladas para después* (1908), *LPr*, 287—392 or at the *Odas libres* (1912—1913), especially 'Paraíso' (*LPr*, 533), 'Sensualidad' (534) or 'Una risa inexplicable' (1216) would confirm this contention. Palau, *P II* draws attention to this aspect as a major force in Jiménez's art.
 - 21 Poem XV of the *Diario* is dedicated to 'una mujer que murió, niña, en

- mi infancia'. The poem begins 'veinte años tienes en la muerte' which would place her death in 1896—1897. Jiménez may be referring to her death by diptheria in an early poem (*CI*, 232—33) or she may be the Estrella who appears in *Rimas* and *Pastorales* who died in 1898. See *PLP*, 581. Reference is made by F. Ramos García to a sudden bereavement in the profile of Jiménez published in *El Programa*, 21, 3-IX-1899: 'Desgracia reciente de familia le hacen hoy guardar silencio con el luto y a su pesar se asocia como a sus alegrías'. Ramos García also seems to hint at an ambiguity of emotion which will be investigated in a later chapter.
22. See my *La caja de música de Ricardo Gil*, (Exeter University Press 1972), xv and 16—17. The theme of the contemplation of death can be traced back in modern times to Poe's 'The Raven' and the final canto of *El diablo mundo*. A number of the poets of the nineteenth century transmute the horror of death into a sentimental and edifying picture. A common theme in the work of Querol, Ruiz Aguilera and Balart is the celebration of the charm, the pain and the consolations of family life (Shaw, *History*, 60—64) and, often, the death of children. In Selgas we find a distinct cultivation of the sentimental aspects in a poem like 'La cuna', *Flores y espinas*, (Madrid 1882). This type of poem in the hands of Gil and the Galician poets transcends the sentimental to pure lyric emotion. Jiménez's 'Consuelo', *El Correo de Andalucía*, 13-III-1899 belongs to this tradition.
 - 23 First published in the *Almanaque del Diario de Córdoba*, 1899 and reprinted in *LPr*, 65—68 and *PP*, 33—36. Compare this prose poem with Villaespesa's 'Nihil', *Luchas* (1899) which employs similar devices.
 - 24 *LPr*, 1210. Palau relates that in 1894 Jiménez drew pictures of cemeteries and a tomb inscribed with 'Acuérdate que morirás' which, in protest against death, Jiménez struck out, *P II*, 50—51.
- 25 Rosalía de Castro, O. C., 408—09. In the interview with Proel in *La Voz*, 18-III-1935 Juan Ramón recalled '[u]no de mis primeros ejercicios poéticos fue traducir a Curros Enríquez y a Rosalía de Castro. Allí, en Moguer, había un señor, viejo republicano, que tenía en su biblioteca estos libros, *acaso por el prólogo de Castelar a Rosalía*. Lo cierto es que en su biblioteca encontré *Follas novas*. Traduje varias cosas'. My emphasis. In 1953 Jiménez told Gullón that he first read the Galician poets in the Ateneo de Sevilla in 1896 and thereupon bought their works for himself, *Conversaciones*, 101. The many references to the enthusiasm for Rosalía are too numerous to catalogue. Autobiographical notes, memoirs and various manuscript papers under the title 'Fuentes' or 'Contajios' (MSS 81/2; 131/2, 4, 11, 12 (c. 1920)) give witness to this continuing passion.
- 26 Palau's comment that the poem celebrates 'la vida por vivir, a la juventud', *P II*, 76, overlooks the significance of the concluding lines. Her reference to 'un contenido afán sensual y erótico', *P II*, 77, begs a fundamental question considered in the next chapter.
 - 27 See Curros Enríquez, 'O mayo', '¡Ay!', 'N'a morte de miña nai', 'Cantiga', 'Saúdo', 'Sola', *Aires de miña terra*, O. C., 56—57, 61—62, 64, 67—68, 79; Francisco A. de Icaza, 'Póstuma', 'Los dos sueños', 'En tu ausencia', *Efímeras*, (Madrid 1892), 75—76, 95—98, 127—131; Ricardo Gil, 'El último juguete', 'La una de la noche', *De los quince a los treinta*,

- (Madrid 1885); 'Non est hic', '¡Para siempre!', *La caja de música*, (Madrid 1898). V. Josia's 'Presenza della Galizia nella gioventù poetica di Juan Ramón Jiménez', *Revista de Letras*, 23—24 (1974), 343—357 is only a cursory exercise of comparison. Palau admits that the influence of Castro and Curros Enríquez on Juan Ramón is difficult to measure despite obvious parallels, *P II*, 91.
- 28 'Elegíaca', *PLP*, 1537. This poem and 'Y las sombras...', (1511) have all the call signs of Romanticism. However, two particular items are worthy of attention: The first is the pervasive effect of Poe's dictum in *The Philosophy of Composition* to the effect that 'the death of a beautiful woman is unquestionably the most poetical topic in the world'. Elsewhere he seems to consciously echo Poe: the *muerta amada* is strongly reminiscent of 'Annabel Lee' and the dead beloved become a star recalls 'To Helen'. Poe, of course, was one of Jiménez's favourite poets along with Bécquer, Verlaine and Heine. The second is that these poems seem to echo very closely many of Bécquer's *Rimas*: LXX, LXXIII especially, and Villaspesa's 'Jaramagos', *Flores de almendro* (1899).
- 29 It was the painters of the 1880s and the 1890s especially who attempted to clothe *fin de siècle* ideas in forms accessible to the visual sense. In the work of the painters associated with Péladan's Salon de la Rose + Croix and the Art Nouveau and Viennese Secession groups who followed we find the same themes and motifs. The lyrical depiction of death as an embrace of love and the interlacing of flowers, clusters of stars, sinuous and convoluted strands and sworls of ribbon, belts and hair, hieratic female figures and bloody lakes in the paintings of Schwabe, Delville, Khnopff, Toorop, Moreau and the painters of the Glasgow School seem to express in painterly terms the preoccupations of the writers of the closing decades of the century. Pre-Raphaelitism, Art Nouveau, the Brussels painters and the emergent art movements in Germany were already well-known in Catalonia and were enthusiastically naturalised by Rusiñol, Alexandre de Riquer and Junyent. See J. F. Ràfols, *Modernismo y modernistas*, (Barcelona 1949); Valentí, *El primer modernismo catalán*; A. Cirici Pellicer, *El arte modernista catalán*, (Barcelona 1951); A. F. Blunt and P. Pool, *Picasso, the Formative Years: A Study of his Sources*, (London 1962); Philippe Jullian, *Dreamers of Decadence, Symbolist Painters of the 1890s*, (London 1971); Idem, *The Symbolists*, (London 1973); J. Milner, *Symbolists and Decadents*, (London 1971) and M. J. Mc Carthy's regrettably unpublished *Catalan Modernisme and English Cultural Movements of the Nineteenth Century*, Ph. D., Cambridge, 1973.
- 30 See M. Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, (London 1962), ch. I for a full discussion.
- 31 *P II*, 82. One might also mention Verdaguer's 'La mort de l'escolá' which Jiménez read at this time, *C I*, 230; *LPr*, 1227.

CHAPTER THREE: AGAINST THE GRAIN

- 1 'Crónica literaria', *La España Moderna*, CLIX (1902), 171: 'Los modernistas no se creen obligados por su apellido o mote a cantar exclusivamente las cosas modernas... Lejos de esto, no desdeñan el pasado, y hasta algunos gustan de volver la vista hacia él'. More recently I. A. Schulman has confirmed this view with reference to Latin American *modernismo*, *ECM*, 349. Valera was one of the earliest critics to note 'fragmentos y escombros de religiones muertas, con los cuales procura formar algo nuevo como ensayo de nuevas creencias' in the review of Darfo's *Azul...*, *O. C.*, I, 1736. The idea was not new for it is central to the debates surrounding *romanticismo actual* in the late 1830s.
- 2 'Manuel Reina y el modernismo', *In*, 166 (1960), 7. Hereinafter *MRmod*. See also J. Campos, 'Los problemas del modernismo', *In*, 245 (1967), 11; Shaw, *History*, 110—13; Cossío, *Cincuenta años* and my *La caja de música*. J. F. Montesinos has observed that 'the poetry of Reina did not yet have those delicate shades, those picturesque and subtle nuances which we find in the work of the *modernistas*. Nevertheless, it represents the beginning of a trend which was quickly to be taken up by later poets', *Die Moderne Spanische Dichtung*, (Leipzig-Berlin 1927), 23. My translation.
- 3 Hereinafter the following abbreviations will be used: *Poética*, (Madrid 1883): *P*; *El Ideísmo*, (Madrid 1883): *El Id*; *La metafísica y la poesía*, (Madrid 1891): *MyP*.
- 4 C. Lozano, 'Parodia y sátira', 180 and 'entre 1899 y 1900 se (hizo) popular un gran caudal de términos modernistas...; la gente hablaba de... *modernistas decadentes*... *delicuescencia*', 193. For an account of the earliest official mentions of Decadence in Spain see L. E. Davis, 'Oscar Wilde in Spain', *CLit*, 35 (1973), 136—52. As late as 1913 Padre Benito Garnelo was still complaining that while the *castizo* Spanish temperament could not accept the 'bizantinismo decadente' of *Les Fleurs du mal*, the noxious poison of the Decadence of Verlaine and others had seeped into the soul of Spain's youthful intelligentsia. Thus a prerequisite for a study of modern literary expression in Spain must be a knowledge of 'la escuela decadente' which he described in terms of 'anhelos enfermizos de expresar las sensaciones de un modo integral... El decadente... se goza en la mórbida fosforescencia de las civilizaciones decrepitas... del vicio encañecido', 'El modernismo literario español', *La ciudad de Dios*, XCIII, 193 (1913), 7—14.
- 5 E. Gómez de Baquero, 'En memoria de Emilio Ferrari', *La España Moderna*, 164 (1907), 151—52. For Valentín Gómez the term *modernista* and *decadente* were synonymous, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española el día 9 de junio de 1907*, (Madrid 1907), 12.
- 6 J. Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de las lenguas y literatura castellanas*, (Madrid 1920), XI, 181; R. Silva Uzcátegui, *Historia crítica del modernismo en la literatura castellana*, (Barcelona 1925), 80. The subtitle patently recalls the tone of Nordau's *Entartung*, (Berlin 1892—1893), translated *Dégénérescence*, (Paris 1894), *Degeneración*, (Madrid 1903): *Piscopatología de los corifeos del modernismo, demostrado con los actos, las teorías, las innovaciones i las poesías de ellos mismos*. C. Lozano, *Rubén Darío y*

- el modernismo* gives an account of the quainter aspects of the official press reaction to the movement.
- 7 See J. M. Aguirre, *Antonio Machado, poeta simbolista*, (Madrid 1973); Brotherston, *Manuel Machado*, 99; E. Zamacois, *Un hombre que se va...* (*Memorias*), (Buenos Aires 1969); G. Fernández Shaw, *Un poeta de transición*, (Madrid 1969) and C. González Ruano who asserted that 'Carrère dedicó toda su vida a cantar a Madrid y la otra mitad a hablarle de Baudelaire, Verlaine y los poetas malditos', *Siluetas de escritores contemporáneos*, (Madrid 1949), 125.
 - 8 See Zamacois, *Un hombre que se va...*, 176 ff. and passim; L. Ruiz Contreras, *Memorias de un desmemoriado*, (Madrid 1945); Pío Baroja, *Memorias*, O. C., VII, 735 ff.; R. Baroja, *Gente de la generación del 98*, (Barcelona 1952); Idem, 'Valle-Inclán en el café', *La Pluma*, (1923), 46—59; L. S. Granjel, *Panorama de la generación del noventaiocho*, (Madrid 1959); Idem, 'Maestros y amigos del 98: Alejandro Sawa', *CHA*, 195 (1966), 430—44; Idem, 'Maestros y amigos del 98: Luis Ruiz Contreras', *CHA*, 217 (1968), 5—30; M. Machado, *La guerra literaria (1898—1914)*, (Madrid 1913), 27. Valle-Inclán was to recreate the life of the bohemian fringe in his pastiche *Lucas de bohemia* which, as Zamora Vicente has shown in *La realidad esperpéntica*, (Madrid 1970), was essentially a truthful account. See also R. Senabre, 'Baroja y Valle-Inclán, en dos versiones diferentes de la muerte del poeta Alejandro Sawa', *Despacho literario*, (Zaragoza 1960) and A. Phillips' first complete biography *Alejandro Sawa. Mito y realidad*, (Madrid 1976).
 - 9 'Juan Ramón Jiménez', *El Hijo Pródigo*, I, 3 (1943), reprinted in *Crítica, ensayos y evocaciones*, (ed. L. Maristany), (Barcelona 1970), 182—83. See also 'Unidad y diversidad', (1933), *Ibid.*, 82—85.
 - 10 *Conversaciones*, 56, 100. In the library in the Casa-Museo, Moguer, there are a number of works of Verlaine. A considerable number of volumes were sent on to Jiménez in America by Juan Guerrero Ruiz where many are now housed in the Archive in Puerto Rico. In Moguer there remain: a special number of *La Plume*, 28-II-1896, 'Le Congrès des poètes. 180 opinions sur Paul Verlaine et Chair, volume de vers posthumes inédits' and a special number of the same journal dedicated to Félicien Rops the Decadent illustrator of Baudelaire and others, (arm-1n 311-(1-6)). There are also: Verlaine, *Bonheur*, (Paris, Léon Vannier 1896), stamped LEÍDO (No 514); *Fiestas galantes*, (Madrid, Fernando Fe 1897), with marginalia (No 349); Ch. Donos, *Verlaine intime*, (Paris, Léon Vannier 1898) (No 574). He also owned the *Choix de poésies* which he gave to Antonio Machado, *Conversaciones*, 94 and which they both knew by heart, 100. See also *TG*, 229—30.
 - 11 *Mod*, 158. In 'La vida literaria' (Juan R. Jiménez, *Jardines lejanos*, Madrid 1905), A. González-Blanco mentioned 'Alberto Samain (con quien tiene grandes afinidades el autor de *Arias tristes*, por haber sufrido primero las influencias; ... y haber seguido su técnica en sus tempranas producciones', *Nuestro Tiempo*, V, 52 (1905), 557. The imprecise 'tempranas producciones' may now be made more precise. The libraries in Moguer and Puerto Rico preserve annotated copies of Moréas' *Les Stances*. See also A. M. Aguirre, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez and the French Symbolist Poets: Influences and Similarities', *RHM*, 36 (1970—1971), 212—23.

- 12 *TG*, 219—20, 222; *CI*, 48; *PI*, 68—69 and Jiménez's terse entry in the first edition of Gerardo Diego's *Poesía española. Antología. 1898—1931*, (Madrid 1932): 'Esquema autobiográfico': 1898—1901. — El "Modernismo" (*Mercure de France*). Primer viaje a Madrid (Rubén Darío)', 108. The equation of *modernismo* and *Mercure de France* is a significant one that Jiménez makes nowhere else. Orbe's reference to the poets of the *Mercure* would suggest that they were well known in intellectual circles in Seville and that he perceived their (for him) pernicious influence on Juan Ramón. Orbe's Krausist training would have led him to disapprove of such influence. C. Real de Azua has pointed to the importance of French and Spanish booksellers and publishers in the dissemination of foreign ideas and to Unamuno's attack on 'el alcanismo' and 'literatura mercurial' (as did Orbe his disciple). The main publishers were Alcan, Flammarion and *Mercure de France*, Real de Azua, 'Ambiente espiritual del novecientos', *Número*, 2, 6-7-8 (1960), 15—36. In Spain the many editoriales like La España Moderna, Biblioteca Sociológica Internacional (Heinrich of Barcelona), Mauuci's *Los grandes pensadores*, Francisco Ferrer's *Escuela Moderna*, Sempère (Valencia) and Daniel Jaro (Madrid) did much to disseminate the most recent ideas and developments in all spheres of cultivated and intellectual activity among the educated classes. The influence of these various publishing ventures has been consistently underrated.
- 13 *TG*, 219. All of these magazines still remain in the library in Moguer. There are 31 volumes of *The Studio* running from 1898 to 1932 (with four missing volumes), R.a.-3-404 (1 a 31)), and numbers for the *Mercure* for May—December 1900 and January—February 1901. *La Vida Literaria* reproduced drawings of modern French, English and German artists as a regular feature in their art columns as did *Madrid Cómico*, *Revista Ibérica*, *La Ilustración Ibérica* and *Revista Nueva*. Considerable coverage was given to the Pre-Raphaelites, D'Annunzio and the Catalan literary and artistic scene as well as the French Decadent and Symbolist writers and painters. Rodríguez Codola's *La pintura en la Exposición Universal de París*, (Madrid 1900) surveyed the most recent developments in the Symbolist-Decadent schools.
- 14 A. E. Carter, *The Idea of Decadence in French Literature (1830—1900)*, (University of Toronto Press 1958), 5 ff. Compare Mario Praz's comment that 'Théophile Gautier is the true and genuine founder of exotic aestheticism — one might almost say, of the school of exotic aestheticism, — for the exoticists during the whole course of the century can be seen coming back to him, directly or indirectly, for their inspiration', *The Romantic Agony*, 229.
- 15 'Al autor de La Musa abandonada', first published in 1890 and later published in *La vida inquieta* (1894). The process appears to have begun in 'La ola negra' (1888). Aguilar Piñal has pointed to the darkening vision of Reina at this time, *OPMR*, 32. But it is Shaw who sees the central issue: 'During the interval of sixteen years between Reina's second and third books of verse a mysterious alteration occurred within his poetic personality, the causes of which are not wholly clear', *History*, 111—12. 'A un poeta' (1884) is a key poem with its sceptical tone: '¿Por qué los deleites y venturas / no canto yo, como en la edad pasada? / Porque el

- negro pesar, con mano fiera / hundió en mi pecho su punzante daga', a theme repeated in 1890 in 'Al autor de La Musa abandonada'.
- 16 'Darío and *El arte puro*: The Enigma of Life and the Beguilement of Art', *BHS*, 47 (1970), 37—51. See also Aguilar Piñal's 'es indudable que para Reina la poesía es, ante todo, un arte de evasión, una contemplación de lo bello como fuente de placer', *OPMR*, 37. There are more weighty reasons than mere hedonism and escapism which caused Reina's deliberate celebration of Art. It would seem, in common with his contemporaries in Latin America, that Reina promoted Art to fill the spiritual gap. The introductory sonnet to *El jardín de los poetas* (1899) would confirm this view. In 'El sueño de una noche de verano', *La vida inquieta* (1894) the poet, 'buscando a mi dolor consuelo' enters 'el templo inmortal de la armonía'. In 'Desde el campo' he finds *armonía* in nature, peace and 'el bien perdido'. Giner de los Ríos' diagnosis in 'Del género de poesía' pointed to the inward quest in search of *armonía* as a relief from *criticismo*. D. L. Shaw has demonstrated that for the mid-century the key ideal was *armonía*, a desire to conciliate progressive ideas in science and philosophy with traditionalism in religion. The writers of the *fin de siècle* 'received their intellectual formation in the aftermath of the collapse of *armonismo*. Their pessimism with regard to the related problems of death, finality and the power of the human mind to perceive absolute truth sprang from their common realization, partly as a consequence, of the *dis harmony* underlying existence', Shaw, 'Armonismo: The Failure of an Illusion', apud *La Revolución de 1868, Historia, Pensamiento, Literatura*, (ed. I. M. Zavala), (New York 1971), 360. Reina as a member of the generation of *La Gloriosa* shows all the nostalgia for the panaceas of his youth and hands it on in a new guise to the *modernistas*.
- 17 E. Bobadilla, *Crítica y sátira*, (La Habana 1964), XI, 367. My emphasis. In 'Un soneto a Rubén Darío' (1903) in *Muecas (Crítica y sátira)*, (Paris 1908) Bobadilla wrote, 'Los gramófonos decadentistas ... a cuya cabeza se gondeola el nicaragüense Rubén Darío ... se han apoderado de la prensa formando una sociedad internacional de bombos mutuos. Han ido paulatinamente corrompiendo el gusto del público ... Lo que pasó de moda en París, aquello que huele a putrefacciones de puro muerto, ha resuscitado en España ... El modernista suele ser un degenerado o un **histérico** (y hasta sodomita a menudo), 127—29.
- 18 See Baudelaire's essay 'Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris', *O. C.*, 1208—44. In an essay on Baudelaire in 1904 Azorín noted 'una sensación del amor místico ... atormentado, trágico, de una voluptuosidad malsana y perversa'. With reference to the *Petits poèmes en prose* and Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale* he added that 'son dos libros esencialmente místicos ... que nos revelan la vanidad de las andanzas y los afanes de los hombres', 'Baudelaire', *Alma española*, 31-I-1904. The process of mingling the spiritual, the sensual and pessimism had evidently emerged explicitly in the work of the new generation. The ambivalent path of spiritual-sensual was central to Verlaine's description of his own work in the 'Pauvre Lélian' essay in *Les Poètes maudits*. For a study of its impact on Darío see my 'Darío and *El arte puro*' and N. V. Glendinning, 'En torno a "Sonatina"', *Cuadernos del Sur*, 11 (1961—1971), 165—174.
- 19 Apud E. Raynaud, *La Mêle Symboliste*, (Paris 1870—1890), I, 65—66.

- Verlaine also defined Decadence as 'un coup de génie. ... Ce mot ... suppose des pensées raffinées d'extrême civilisation, une haute littérature, une âme capable d'intensives voluptés', *Ibid.* Melchor de Palau was one of the earliest to quote Verlaine's 'Art poétique' as justification for a consciously Decadent art, *Acontecimientos literarios*, (Madrid 1896), 154.
- 20 Luis Alfonso, 'El arte al final del siglo', *La Ilustración española y americana*, 2-VIII-1890, specifically associated *angustia* and a longing for the past. 'Es indudable que el hastío de lo presente impulsa al hombre de hoy a resucitar lo pasado. Al considerar el prosaísmo de ahora, busca la poesía de ayer, el temperamento artístico de otros siglos y no por medio de la sensación puramente espiritual de la lectura, sino de un modo material y palpable. ¡Miserable condición la de este siglo en su hora postrera, por lo que al espíritu atañe! No adora a la belleza ni la bondad como la adoraban los cristianos; adora sólo la verdad, y la verdad, que hartó a menudo ni es buena ni es bella, cansa pronto. El hombre ansía y ansiará siempre la ficción, como que en ella nutre el alma'. Here, in a nutshell, we find discussed the quest for truth, the recognition of disharmony and escapism as a means to alleviate the problem. Valera and Alarcón argued that art need not deal with truth but the lure of knowledge proved too irresistible. For the theme of Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome see Carter, *The Idea of Decadence* and Praz, *The Romantic Agony*.
- 21 It would be incautious to ascribe this register entirely to Reina. Juan Ramón recalled with amazing accuracy in 1953 that 'Leopoldo Díaz dió íntegro, en *Vida Nueva*, un poema importante', *Conversaciones*, 55. See also *CI*, 232. Issue 65, 3-IX-1899 published 'La leyenda blanca' wherein Díaz evoked palaces of ice and glittering snow and worlds of dream and sensuality similar to those visions created by Reina and Jiménez. But this poem and 'El arrecife de las sombras', published in issue 75, 12-XI-1899 echo more closely the sensual exoticism of Darío rather than the self-conscious Decadence discussed here.
- 22 'Il convient de citer comme note particulière du poète le sentiment de *Partificiel*. Par ce mot, il faut entendre une création due tout entière à l'art, et où la nature est complètement absente ... l'idiome nécessaire et fatal a remplacé la vie naturelle. ... Il se plaisait dans cette espèce de beau composite et parfois un peu factice qu'élaboraient les civilisations très avancées et très corrompues. ... Ce gout excessif, baroque, anti-naturel, presque toujours contraire au beau classique, était pour lui un signe de la volonté humaine corrigeant à son gré les formes et les couleurs fournies par la matière. ... La *dépravation*, c'est-à-dire l'écart du type normal, est impossible à la bête, fatalement conduite par l'instinct immuable. C'est par la même raison que les poètes *inspirés*, n'ayant pas la conscience et la direction de leur oeuvre, lui causait une sorte d'aversion, et qu'il voulait introduire l'art et le travail même dans l'originalité', *Notice to Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du mal*, (Lévy 1868), xxxvii, xvi, xxvi. It was this edition, of course, which Jiménez bought after reading Alas' review (*Mod*, 253). The copy, signed 'Juan R. Jiménez', is now in the Sala Zenobia-Juan Ramón Jiménez in Puerto Rico.
- 23 See R. J. Glickman, 'Julían del Casal: Letters to Gustave Moreau', *RHM*, XXXVII (1972-1973), 101-35.
- 24 'Mística II', intended for the unpublished *Besos de oro* and published in

Electra, V, 5-IV-1901, 156. Green eyes were to become a part of the repertory of the Decadence, usually associated with the Gioconda smile. See Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, 347, 362, 407, 409, 471. Bécquer was very much a part of his age when he used green eyes and a wistful smile as attributes of the *femme fatale* — symbol of ultimate truth in art which destroys the artist — who lures the poet to his death. Poe, Baudelaire, Samain and even Reina employed green eyes to indicate a beauty of cruelty and pain though he may have also found the motif in D'Annunzio. Jiménez admitted to Guerrero Ruiz that he had read the Italian 'aunque la gente no la ha visto', *Viva voz*, 69. Jiménez may have read the description of the Mona Lisa in 'Gorgon'.

- 25 Villaespesa clearly understood the Decadent nature of Jiménez's Muse when in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta* he wrote: 'A su Musa, Musa bizantina, pálida y taciturna, le agrada pasear su nostalgia por las solemnes avenidas solitarias, bajo los negros cipreses inmóviles', *PLP*, 1518. If this echoes the Byzantine ladies of Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante*, it also echoes the female figures in the paintings and prose poems of Santiago Rusiñol and those artists described by Praz in 'Byzantium', chapter V, *The Romantic Agony* and P. Jullian, chapters III, VI and IX of *Dreamers of Decadence*.
- 26 Ricardo Baroja, artist brother of the novelist, recorded that a particular picture of Picasso incarnated the essence of the *fin de siècle* Fatal Woman, *Gente de la generación del '98*, 49—50. Jiménez also recorded that Elisa, wife of Villaespesa, incarnated for him 'las princesas del modernismo, que eran las del simbolismo, los fantasmas del cisne y estrella. Elisa era para mí la representación de la femenina dignidad esbelta, como una encarnación de las heroínas de Poe, de Maeterlinck, de Rubén Darío', *CI*, 74. He also probably had the theatre posters of Rusiñol and Alphonse Mucha in mind, or the illustrations of Beardsley and Alexandre de Riquer.
- 27 'La passion est chose *naturelle*, trop naturelle même, pour ne pas introduire un ton blessant, discordant, dans le domaine de la Beauté pure; trop familière et trop violente pour ne pas scandaliser les purs Désirs, les gracieuses Mélancholies et les nobles Désespoirs qui habitent les régions surnaturelles de la Poésie', *Notes nouvelles sur Poe*, (Conard), V, xx—xxi.
- 28 'Lune de cuivre — Parfums lourds . . .' and 'Les grands jasmins épanouis', *Au Jardin de l'Infante*. In 'Il pleut des pétales de fleurs' the poet, near to tears at the beloved's strange beauty sighs 'quel goût de souffrir sans remède' amid dying roses and 'l'amour (qui) est lourd'.
- 29 The peculiar *frisson* associated with the contemplation of beauty or delights of the flesh and the recognition that it must die soon became a major component of Jiménez's poetic philosophy, see G. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Spain: The Twentieth Century*, (London-New York 1972), 78. The frequent twilight settings and the dying light effects are only the external symbols of what amounts to the vision of a cosmic *Götterdämmerung*, a theme extensively cultivated by the Decadence. Juan Ramón is echoing Samain's 'Heures d'été', *Au Jardin de l'Infante*, where, as in other poems, the roses 'ont l'attrance sombre / Des choses qui donnent la mort . . .'. See also Jullian, *Dreamers of Decadence*, 95. The process had already begun before Jiménez's journey to France.
- 30 N. V. Glendinning has suggested that this essay exerted an influence on

the work of Darío, 'En torno a "Sonatina"', *op. cit.*, 165—74. See also my 'Darío and *El arte puro*' and note 26 *supra*. Baudelaire's mysticism according to one critic was 'un assemblage d'épicurienne sensualité ... et de christianisme ascétique, de volupté charnelle et de pitié mystique, de débauche et de prière ... quelle profonde perversion du sens mystique', apud Carter, *The Idea of Decadence*, 127. For an analysis of the mingled currents of mystic idealism in the 1890s see Fr. Paulhan, *Le Nouveau Mysticisme* and G. Pellissier, 'Le Pessimisme dans la littérature contemporaine' (1890), *Essais de littérature contemporaine*, (Paris 1893).

- 31 In the 1890s there emerged a marked reaction against Decadent aestheticism which manifested itself in a approval of Nordau's diatribe against the Decadence and an expression of the desire for the physical and spiritual regeneration of Spain. *Vida Nueva* as a progressive review had little time for aestheticism and branded *los estetas* as a contemporary evil to be extirpated. On 30 October 1898 (no 21) the editors reproduced Nordau's attack from *Entartung* on 'el egoísmo de decadentismo, su amor hacia lo artificial, su aversión contra la naturaleza, contra todas las formas de la actividad y del movimiento, su menosprecio megalomano por los hombres y su exageración del fin del arte'. It is strange that so many of Jiménez's early poems which contained so many of these elements should have been taken by the editors as 'socialist' poems.
- 32 'Nocturno', *Vida Nueva*, 42, 26-III-1899. Palau de Nemes has pointed, without qualification, to the influence of Reina in this poem, *P I*, 42 and *II*, 100—101. See also 'El paseo de carruajes', *El Programa*, 15, 2-III-1899. Palau's view, *P II*, 113—15, that the poem is a natural celebration of a Sevillian *fiesta* seems inappropriate in the light of the conclusion of the poem.
- 33 On 30 April 1902 José Deleito y Piñuela, scourge of the *modernistas*, wrote in the anti-Modernista *Gente Vieja* on the subject of 'Arte y progreso'. He began by stating that 'todo el modernismo lleva el sello de la decadencia y el agotamiento'. He went on to castigate that 'perversion de los sentidos, refinamientos exóticos de una voluptuosidad enfermiza' and laid the blame at the door of Baudelaire. *Les Fleurs du mal*, he asserted, had brought the degenerative influences of 'erotismos y obscenidades, delirios sangrientos y aterradoras quimeras, ... la delectación morbosa con lo horripilante o corrompido; todo en los decadentes implica una anestesia moral, una emotividad desenfundada, una exaltación neurótica y una desorden mental fronterizo de la locura', 1—2.
- 34 See also 'Mi ofrenda', *PLP*, 1484 written on 'el día de los difuntos' and 'Romanticismo', *LPr*, 1210.
- 35 'Luto', *El Progreso*, (Seville), 4-IX-1898. Palau de Nemes fails to notice the evident Decadent tone here and in associated poems, *P II*, 86—88. Her comments on 'el morboso deseo de besar el cadáver del niño o a la niña muerta' and her justification that 'conviene recordar que entre los españoles el gesto en sí no tiene nada en particular ... el beso es el máximo tributo de amor y dolor', *P II*, 86 seems geared to bring Jiménez into the orthodox fold rather than emphasise his acceptance of the perverse and heterodox doctrines of the Decadence. For a study of the predilection for exhumation see Jullian, *Dreamers of Decadence*, 96—98 and *The Romantic Agony*, chapter I.

- 36 See Juillian, *Dreamers of Decadence*, 95; Santiago Rusiñol, O. C., Plates, VII, X, XVII, XX, XXII; Cirici Pellicer, *El arte modernista catalán*, 48, 59, 327, 328, 329, 334, 335, 344; Blunt and Pool, *Picasso*, plates 20 & 21. The work of the Glasgow School, regularly reproduced in *The Studio*, should not be overlooked in any full assessment of this aspect.
- 37 'Vaga' is reproduced in my 'Juan Ramón Jiménez and the Decadence' as is 'Mística', composed for the unpublished *Besos de oro* and published in *Electra*, III, 30-III-1901, 88.
- 38 'Le Thème de la Décadence', 49—58, especially his comment à propos of 'diverses forces de perversions beaucoup plus mentales que vécues', 58. Palau's comment on the early poems that 'Juan Ramón malentendía el refinamiento de las sensaciones que constituía un aspecto de la mejor poesía hispanoamericano, que Darío, sobre todo, expresaba', *P II*, 141 is, of course, untenable in the light of the evidence.
- 39 The chalice image of Villaspesa and other *modernistas* is at one and the same time the poisoned cup of insight and fatal knowledge given by the Chimera or the Gioconda-Fatal Woman and the cup given to Christ in Gethsemane which symbolised the necessary sacrifice and the martyrdom for the salvation of man. Thus the theme of aesthetic idealism and sacriligious spirituality intertwine. Jiménez had already found the theme of pain at non-transcendence in Reina's 'Sueño de una noche de verano' but he seems to be echoing Darío's 'A una estrella' (*Azul...*) more closely. Darío's expression of the martyrdom of the artist in terms of desolated gardens of illusion echoes Espronceda. The Sphinx image and the problem of death link Darío and those others who used the motif with that current of on-going *criticismo* of the *fin de siècle*. Jiménez admitted that this poem had been influential, Díaz-Plaja, *El poema en prosa en España*, (Barcelona 1956), 62.
- 40 N. Alonso Cortés, 'Salvador Rueda y la poesía de su tiempo', *AUM*, 2 (1933), 71—185 and E. Díez-Canedo, 'Los comienzos del modernismo en España', *Estudios de poesía española contemporánea*, (Mexico 1965).
- 41 'Presencia de Bécquer en Juan Ramón Jiménez', *Hispl*, 8 (1960), 47—64.
- 42 *Viva voz*, 150, 159, 163.

CHAPTER FOUR: SADNESS AND SENSIBILITY, MUSIC AND MYSTICISM

- 1 *Estudios sobre Juan Ramón Jiménez*, 102—04. Cansinos Assens commented on the singular simplicity of Juan Ramón's first collections in comparison with Villaspesa's *La copa del rey de Thule*. Apart from the use of majuscules and the eccentric titles he found a 'sencilla textura' and 'la voz fina e inmadura de un poeta que ama la tristeza y la ensalza en balbucientes madrigales. Por esta su melancolía leve y vaporosa podría considerársele como romántico rezagado, como la sombra misma resurrecta de Bécquer', *La nueva literatura*, I, 157. The Romantic inheritance of Jiménez's themes has been examined. In terms of the treatment these themes are given there remains the problem of what type of *romanticismo* the critic is talking about. Some themes, as the previous chapter has

shown, are expressed in the Romantic vein which became the Decadence. There remain two other major forms of post-Romantic expression: the painterly and exotic treatment of Rivas and Zorrilla and the suggestive nuance of Bécquer. Jiménez eschewed the former in favour of the latter. This chapter will attempt to trace the development of the latter in the rest of the century and its impact on the early work of Juan Ramón.

- 2 V. Gaos, *La poética de Campoamor*, (Madrid 1955); L. Cernuda, 'Ramón de Campoamor', *Estudios sobre poesía española contemporánea*, 27—36.
- 3 *Poética*, (Madrid 1883), 108. Here and throughout the *Poética*, Campoamor postulates 'una poesía interior' and a 'lenguaje natural' as a basis for a modern aesthetic. When poetry becomes like music and awakens in the reader 'ideas inesperadas' then 'toda su hermosura nace del interior', *P*, 122. The German Idealism of this and similar passages is obvious. The linking of *interioridad* and the 'natural' poetry of tradition confirms its provenance. The emergence and combination of these two trends in the aesthetics of the 1880s together with the intellectual hegemony of the Institución Libre over the progressive writers by that time may not be coincidental for it was the *institucionistas* above all who fomented German Idealism in Spain.
- 4 The earliest attacks on Campoamor began with Valera's *Discurso de contestación académica de J. Ortega y Munilla* in 1902 and the *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX* of the same year. There had been minor skirmishes as early as 1879 in Palacio Valdés' *Nuevo viaje al Parnaso* but Valera's onslaught signalled the main offensive. Within a short time the younger writers had espoused Campoamor's cause and the end of the first decade of the new century saw Andrés González Blanco's *Campoamor, biografía y estudio crítico*, (Madrid 1912), the favourable accounts by Manuel Machado in *La guerra literaria* a year later and Gómez de Baquero's essay in *Pen Club I: Los poetas*, (Madrid 1922). In the 1930s he fell into disfavour in the work of critics like Chabás, Valbuena Prat and Salinas. Since Dámaso Alonso's more balanced assessment Campoamor has received a more scholarly appraisal from Gaos, Cernuda and Shaw.
- 5 *P*, 122 & 132. My italics. The emphasis on intuition and poetic visionary activity in this section of the *Poética* gives the clue to its philosophical and literary origins in German Idealism. The emphasis on spiritual sensitivity and aestheticism of a refined type clearly anticipates the outlook of the *Helios* group and Jiménez in particular. The following statement from the *Poética* might have been written by Juan Ramón in the years 1899—1904: 'En poesía no importa tanto lo que se dice como lo que se quiere decir. El que no sepa escribir versos en que no palpiten más ideas que los que se expresan, que arroje la pluma. . . Los versos han de tener la fosforescencia trascendente que da a las cosas humanas la luz de lo infinito', *P*, 120. Compare Jiménez's comment in the review of *La copa del rey de Thule* on the nature of form and idea, *LPr*, 211.
- 6 'Ricardo Gil: La caja de música', *La Época*, 28-II-1898. See also my *La caja*.
- 7 *Ensayos de crítica y filosofía*, (Madrid 1881), 93. See also M. Díaz Rodríguez, *Camino de perfección*, (Caracas-Barcelona n. d. [1908]), 70.
- 8 See my 'Darío and *El arte puro*', especially 44—45.

- 9 'That Rosalía was aware of the ferment of unrest abroad in Spain is clear from the introduction [to *Follas novas*] ... There can be no doubt that the medullar part of her last two collections is the numerous poems of dolorous meditation on existence', Shaw, *History*, 107. See also Pareda's jibe in the Academy address of 1877 at 'los téttricos de la negación y la duda, que son los melenudos de ahora' which might be taken as an accurate description of the circles frequented by Bécquer and the bohemian fringe of Sawa and his associates soon to emerge.
- 10 'Los comienzos del modernismo en España', 19.
- 11 See also 'Melancolía', 'Quimérica', 'Y las sombras ...', *PLP*, 1503, 1504, 1511. Jiménez persistently refers to the effect made upon him by Gautier's description of the Alameda at Granada at nightfall, *CI*, 230 and elsewhere. The passage, taken from chapter IX of *Le Voyage en Espagne* (1840) formed selection 12 in the prose section of *Morceaux Choisis de littérature française*, (Paris 1880) which Juan Ramón used as a pupil in the Colegio. He marked one section of this extract: that passage which described the changing light effects, the 'demiteintes violettes' and 'L'ombre (qui) envahit les croupes inférieures'. See *PI*, 28—29. This passage may have been another of the many components which went to shape Jiménez's poetic conception of the world. His father had a copy of the *Voyage* in the family library, *LPr*, 1207.
- 12 The sentimental overtones of 'volvereta de aliñas douradas / que te pousas n'o berce valeiro' of '¡Ay!' is mirrored by Juan Ramón's evocation of 'los ángeles azules (que) lo llevaron ... que vuela entre sus vírgenes, sus lirios y sus cánticos', '¡Silencio!', just as in the line 'su madre está llorando' there is an echo of the mother in '¡Ay!'. Compare also 'Saúdo' and 'Remembranzas' where the recognition that childhood illusions and memories are irredeemably lost is common to both poems.
- 13 'Ganivet's *España filosófica contemporánea* and the Interpretation of the Generation of 1898', *HR*, 28 (1960), 229.
- 14 'Salvador Rueda y la poesía de su tiempo', 76. Villaespesa made exactly the same point *à propos* of Jiménez in the 'Atrio' to *Almas de violeta*.
- 15 See *Viva voz*, 37, 40, 150. In my edition of *La caja* I suggest that various of the poems of Jiménez's early period may well have come under the influence of poems from *La caja*. Gil, like Reina, regularly published in the leading magazines.
- 16 José Asunción Silva, *P. C.*, 19. Unamuno's preface was originally published in the Barcelona, 1908 edition, a copy of which Jiménez owned and marked. Unamuno also praises Silva's unspoiled child-like vision and the echo in his verses of 'la brisa de eternidad y de misterio, más adelante de nuestro último supiro, más allá, hacia el mañana de nuestra muerte', 21. The sincere appreciation of Unamuno may seem paradoxical in a man who was in general violently *anti-modernista*, (see G. Díaz-Plaja, 'Unamuno antimodernista', *In*, 216—217 (1964), 22). There seemed to be a common spiritual level on which the *Helios* group (and their genuine precursors) were able to communicate with the sterner spiritual stance of the *noventa y ocho*. The defection of Antonio Machado to the Unamuno camp is the more explicable in the light of the common *spiritual* pre-occupation.
- 17 *P. C.*, 23 & 25—26. R. Blanco Fombona argued that Silva was a neuro-

- path, erotomane and an inevitable suicide. He records that Silva wrote to a friend that 'cada día necesito sensaciones *más refinadas*'. (My italics). He went on, in one of the earliest assessments of Silva's personality, to say that Silva 'sufre porque piensa' and that his suicide was inevitable in a man who felt 'angustia metafísica' and 'miedo a la muerte', *El modernismo y los poetas modernistas*, (Madrid 1929), 116—31.
- 18 D. Basdekis, *Unamuno and Spanish Literature*, (University of California Press 1967), 8. See also Unamuno, O. C., III, 521—22.
 - 19 'En torno de la poesía de Ricardo Gil', *Oróspeda* (Murcia), Año II, 9 (1917), 193.
 - 20 Hereinafter *EAAE*, chapter XIA. See 280 ff. for the effect upon the younger and emergent *modernistas* like Villaespesa and Jiménez and an account of Silva's enthusiastic critical and literary reception in Spain. Fogelquist's comment that the young men found in Silva 'la expresión de una inquietud muy parecida a la que sentían ellos' and 'la síntesis de la inquietud de su época', 280 & 283, is an accurate assessment of the situation if *inquietud* is seen as a spiritual and metaphysical condition.
 - 21 *PI*, 46. Gicovate suggests that 'Tétrica' was influenced by Silva as well as 'Paisaje del corazón', *La poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez*, 39—41. Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía*, 96—97 was one of the earliest to point to the influence of Silva. For Jiménez's own account see *Viva voz*, 149, 171, 199—200.
 - 22 *CI*, 70—71; *TG*, 223—24. R. Gómez de la Serna recalled that Jiménez was shown, 'como secretos tesoros, libros que recibe (Villaespesa) de América', *Retratos contemporáneos escogidos*, (Buenos Aires 1968), 12. For the books from Darío see *Mod*, 231.
 - 23 *Conversaciones*, 94 & 108. See also *Viva voz*, 144 and *Espanoles de tres mundos*, where he wrote that 'este nocturno ... es sin duda el poema más representativo del último romanticismo y el primer modernismo. ... Funde dos tendencias o fases idealistas en un punto exacto que coje lo mejor, más desnudo, más esencial de cada una, y desecha de cada una lo sobrante'. In the light of the discussion here it could be argued that the two convergent tendencies are restrained *angustia* and the new mode of *tono menor*, the one Romantic, the other the dominant strain in the poetry of the *fin de siècle* in Spain: *el primer modernismo* itself. It was this strain which was to develop into the minor key art of the *Helios* group. Jiménez once likened Silva to Bécquer, *CI*, 119.
 - 24 O. C., (La Habana 1936—1953), 50, 23—24, 59. References are to this edition by volume and page number.
 - 25 *Nieblas*, (Madrid 1886), 26—27. All references are to this edition.
 - 26 See for example 'Pajarito que cantas / en la laguna, / no despiertes al niño, / que está en la cuna', apud F. Rodríguez Marín, *El alma de Andalucía en sus mejores coplas amorosas*, (Madrid 1929), 19. Jiménez met Rodríguez Marín while at the University of Seville in 1898 and may have come into contact, through him, with the evident *Volksgeist* outlook which pervades the work of the Sevillian folklorist group led by Machado y Alvarez and whose origins are to be traced in the work of Durán and the German Idealists. At this level there may be closer spiritual bonds between *modernismo* and *noventayochismo* than have hitherto been recognised. For the relationship between Catalan Modernism and

- 98 see my 'Decadentisme: Enfonsament o regeneració espiritual?'.
 27 *Como vivió y como vive el Romancero*, (Valencia 1958), 62. See Jiménez's '[d]e los españoles antiguos lo que más leía era el *Romancero* que encontré en la biblioteca de mi casa, en diversas ediciones', *CI*, 230.
 28 See Fogelquist, *EAAE*, chapter VIII.
 29 Both works, now bibliographical rarities, were published in Madrid. References to each collection are from the first editions and will be prefaced by the abbreviations *E* and *L*.
 30 Alfonso Reyes, 'Sobre la poesía de Francisco A. de Icaza', (1899), *O. C.*, (Mexico 1948), 476. See also E. Gómez de Baquero who described Icaza in similar terms: 'En (su obra) aparece el *matiz moderno*. La vida honda y la emoción fugitiva: los dos reinos de la lírica. Una linda con el misterio, con el *substratum* obscuro de los seres. Es la tierra donde se nutren las raíces de nuestra floración espiritual, y donde se elabora el impulso de toda emoción. El otro es el vuelo de la mariposa griega, de la *psique*, hacia lo azul lontananza de la ilusión, misterio y ensueño', *O. C.*, (Madrid 1922), II: *Pen Club I: Los poetas*, 295. In this essay, written in 1900, we find one of the most perspicacious assessments of the subtle changes taking place in the Spanish lyric. The predictions of Giner de los Ríos in 'Del género de poesía más propio' of 1865 concerning the imaginative impulse and the new dynamic inwards in search of some harmonic principle had come to fullness in the belief that some viable principle was to be found in refined spiritual sensations and in the spirit itself. Manuel Bueno associated Icaza with 'los poetas alemanes sensitivos, delicados e intensos, que sucedieron a Goethe', (quoted by Gómez Baquero, *op. cit.*). Clearly Icaza, like the other poets who cultivated the *tono menor* style in the 1880s, belongs not only to the tradition of Bécquer and Ferrán, but more importantly to the *segunda ola* of German influence in the 1880s and 1890s initiated by the translations of José Joaquín Herrero, *Enrique Heine. Poemas y fantasías*, (Madrid 1883), the pieces in *Ensayos poéticos. Estrofas*, (Madrid 1884) and the many other translations published in the reviews of the day. In the four months October—January 1898—1899 *Vida Nueva* published translations of the German Romantics by Herrero and Pedro de Répide as well as the translations of Florentino Sanz. In 1898 *Madrid Cómic* published Herrero's translations from the *Intermezzo* of Heine. Given the advances in the development of a *tono menor* lyric and the reawakened interest in the German Romantics, Jiménez's recognition that the poetry of Herrero was an influential force is a significant one, *Conversaciones*, 55. Jiménez's admiration for Heine is well known: 'Heine es uno de mis poetas', 'Glosario', *Renacimiento*, I (1907), 128.
 31 See G. W. Ribbans, 'Recaptured Memory in Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado', apud *Studies in Modern Spanish Literature and Art*, ed. N. V. Glendinning, (London 1972), 149—61.
 32 In French philosophers like Bergson and in Symbolist literature we find the belief that essential truth is not to be found in rational and empirical experience but in intuition and in the experience of memory. Here the eternal is seen to be latent in time itself. In Spain we find a similar attitude being enunciated by Unamuno among others, see R. Fiddian, 'Unamuno-Bergson: A Reconsideration', *MLR*, 69 (1974), 787—95. The

same is true of Icaza for in 'Último amor' (*E*, 31) he likens his mind to a *roca* on which the palaces of illusion are built. Only the ruins remain which are the memories he retains. Amid the eternal wheel of change and inconstancy they become the one source of certainty and so he turns his attention to investigating their spiritual aspects as a vital standpoint in an age of doubt and uncertainty. The theme of recaptured memory obviously anticipates Juan Ramón and Antonio Machado. Less obviously the *roca* theme coincides with Unamuno's search for a *roca viva* of spiritual certainty on which a harmonious view of existence might be built. See Ramsden, *The 1898 Movement in Spain* and D. L. Shaw, *The Generation of 1898*, (London-New York 1975). My 'Decadentisme' suggests that the search for some form of spiritual essence, an *idea madre*, was not the exclusive preserve of the Generation of 1898. The two groups were evidently bent on the same objective by different paths which at times converged.

- 33 *E*, 78—80. See also 'Los dos sueños' (97—98) where, as we have seen, Icaza is unable to accept with faith the apparent injustice of the death of innocents and 'Fantasmas' where he relates that 'Hoy mi huésped constante es el hastío, / Y hay en mi corazón tanta tristeza, / Que late enfermo y desolado y frío / Sin que haya encanecido la cabeza. / Ni esperanzas abriga en lo futuro, / Ni lo engañoso del pasado anhela: / La nieve de un invierno prematuro, / Más que la escarcha de la edad nos hiela', (*E*, 103). Thus he takes flight into dreams, illusions and memory only to find that therein lies the shadow of death and 'un abismo sin fondo'. Icaza takes up the central theme of the poetry of Espronceda and expresses it in a style which immediately anticipates the poetry of the *Helios* period of Machado and Jiménez.
- 34 'Las niñas' published under the heading 'Del libro en prensa *Besos de oro*' first appeared in *La Quincena* (Seville), I, 30-XI-1900. It was republished in *Electra*, I, núm 2, 23-III-1901, 51 and was subsequently incorporated into *Rimas* (Madrid 1902). See *PLP*, 117—19. See also 'A la música inefable', *La Quincena*, III, 30-XII-1900 which seeks for similar 'essences'. Palau's comment that 'La niñas' lacks 'las complejidades psico-poéticas que caracterizan los versos escritos en Madrid', *PII*, 164, overlooks the obvious nervous spirituality of the Decadence and the *tono menor* style.
- 35 *Mod*, 236. One might enquire in this context why Jiménez, like many others in the *fin de siècle* and not the least Menéndez Pelayo, should show such an interest in the Spanish mystics. The suggestive and symbolic nature of San Juan de la Cruz's poetry would clearly have proven attractive to Jiménez's tastes. This might explain why Jiménez called the mystic a Symbolist. There may be less obvious reasons for the association of 'poesía interior' and *angustia* among a number of *modernistas*. Unamuno gives the clue. While more research is necessary in this area, it is possible that Juan Ramón saw in the Castilian mystics what Unamuno had already perceived: a feeling of permanent and eternal values amidst a world of diverse and changing forms, idealism in the face of disillusionment with the world. In 1892 Unamuno wrote that 'el sentimiento primordial del hombre es el dolor, la molestia, la sensación de obstáculo y estorbo que experimenta su voluntad al chocar con el mundo', (*O. C.*, IV, 294—95). Thus for him the Castilian mystics 'no fueron al

- misticismo por hastío de razón ni desengaño de ciencia, sino más bien por el doloroso efecto entre lo desmesurado de sus aspiraciones y lo pequeño de la realidad', (I, 841). In *modernista* terms, disillusionment and the beguilement of 'poesía interior'. Such a common emphasis suggests that both writers interpreted the mystics in terms of their own attempt to reconcile an intolerable reality and idealism; they sought their own spiritual salvation through literature. See Ramsden, *The 1898 Movement in Spain*.
- 36 *LPr*, 1218. See also *CI*, 49; *TG*, 230. *Jardines místicos* was dedicated to Icaza. In 1903 Jiménez observed that '[d]espués de mucha lectura he visto que los verdaderos poetas latinos de América son Rubén Darío, Amado Nervo y Francisco A. de Icaza'. He went on in his review of Nervo's *El éxodo y las flores del camino* to say that 'entre Nervo e Icaza, yo encuentro grandes semejanzas, los dos son exquisitos; los dos saben bien lo que se hacen; están enamorados de los mismos metros — en el espíritu y en la forma —, y hallan igualmente la palabra de sus rimas con una seguridad y una elegancia a maravillosas', *LPr*, 246. Later in the essay he was to link Nervo, Santa Teresa, Thomas à Kempis and Saint Augustine, which association gives a modest indication of the polluted spiritual channels from which Jiménez drew sustenance.

CHAPTER FIVE: APOSTLES OF POETRY

- 1 First published in *El Programa*, 15, 2-III-1899 and then in *Vida Nueva*, 56, 2-VII-1899. See also 'La guardilla', *Vida Nueva*, 59, 23-VII-1899 and 'Amarga', *PLP*, 1526.
- 2 *Vida Nueva*, 70, 8-X-1899. Palau's comment that this is a poem 'de intención didáctica', *PII*, 112 hardly bears serious consideration. For a history of the theme see Henríquez Ureña, *Breve historia del modernismo*, 20—26.
- 3 *Vida Nueva*, 75, 12-XI-1899 and *La Publicidad*, (Barcelona), 20-XI-1899.
- 4 *Vida Nueva*, 74, 5-XI-1899. '¡Dichoso!' was published in the following number with another edifying 'Pintura de ideas' by Chicharro, 'La familia del anarquista la víspera de la ejecución'. Jiménez's poem is in many ways ostensibly a verbalisation of this painting. However, words are more subtle than the brush of Chicharro could be, as the discussion will show.
- 5 *Vida Nueva*, 58, 16-VII-1899. *La Vida Literaria* serialised Pere Corominas' *Las prisiones imaginarias* in 1899.
- 6 'Es muy joven el autor de *Los amantes del miserable*, casi un niño, y no sólo la rebelde forma obedece ya sumisa a su estro, sino que en la concepción de sus poesías se percibe claramente aleteos de un alma gigante. ... Lloro las tristezas de los menesteros, de los explotados, de los perseguidos y los humildes, no con lamentos femeninos, sino con impulsos de arrebatada ira, cerrando el puño y alzándolo amenazador al cielo de donde no nos ha venido ni vendrá nunca la justicia', 'Escritores nuevos. Juan R. Jiménez', *Vida Nueva*, 78, 3-XII-1899.
- 7 G. de Torre, 'El 98 y el modernismo en sus revistas', *Del 98 al barroco*, (Madrid 1969), 25 and R. Gullón, *Direcciones del modernismo*, 61; *Mod*, 37. See also Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía*, 101 who sees

'Los amantes del miserable' as expressing 'cierta propensión sociológica que canta el dolor de la miseria'.

- 8 For a full discussion of the outcast figure see R. Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, (Cambridge, Mass 1968). On self-reflection and 'self-reflexiveness' in art see Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*.
- 9 'El sentimiento cristiano en nuestra lírica moderna', *Los temas literarios y su interpretación*, 75. A *propos* of the Christ figure in the work of Villaspesa Cansinos Assens noted: '*este pesimismo romántico es el que propicia sus efusiones cristianas, de un cristianismo trágico, de pasión y no de transfiguración...* A semejanza de todos los poetas románticos, la imagen predilecta que de sí mismo tiene el poeta es una imagen de pasión, de sufrimiento, agrandada en el dolor por la tendencia a magnificarse en la admiración trágica', *Ibid*, 74. My italics. The point is clear: the poet concentrates not on the joy of transfiguration but on the eternal agony of the martyrdom itself. There is no interest in the Cross as a symbol of Redemption. Rather it is seen as a model for the sacrifice of the artist. As such, it forms a part of that significant change in the nature of the religious impulse which took place in the nineteenth century which has been touched on in chapter one.
- 10 Palau's identification of Jiménez's 'Dolor' as *angustia existencial* (P II, 154) is correct, but no evidence is adduced to suggest why Jiménez should experience it and no full discussion of its effect on his aesthetics or on his view of the artist's role is made.
- 11 This view was shared in part by the Generation of 1898 as Shaw, *History and The Generation of 1898 in Spain* and Ramsden, *The 1898 Movement in Spain and JRUL* have shown. Ganivet, along with his contemporaries, sees progress produced exclusively by an élite minority of directing intellectuals endowed with *energía espiritual* and a stock of (undefined) *ideas madres*. Shaw links this with Rodó and Ortega. The latter, not surprisingly, was trained by the Krausists and became a visiting member of the *Helios* group, *CI*, 153—67. Jiménez was more democratic in outlook and ideas than the crypto-fascism of the '98 for he looked, like Sanz del Río and Giner de los Ríos, for the respiritualisation of the whole man and the mass through an increased sensitivity to Beauty. Thus the 'inmensa minoría' would build the foundations of the new world and lead the rest of humanity to the fullness of its destiny.
- 12 D. F. Fogelquist, 'La correspondencia entre José Rodó y Juan Ramón Jiménez', *RevIb*, 25 (1960), 327—36. Rodó also wrote reviews of Jiménez's collections beginning with an assessment of *Rimas* in 1902. For a study of this see *PII*, 190—91.
- 13 Brotherston, *Ariel*, 30—31. One might compare Unamuno's reaction to a like situation: 'Toma la vida en serio sin dejarte emborrachar por ella; sé su dueño y no su esclavo, porque tu vida pasa y tú quedarás. Y no hagas caso a los paganos que te digan que tú pasas y la vida queda... ¿La vida? ¿Qué es una vida que no es mía, ni tuya ni de otro cualquiera? ¡La vida! ¡Un ídolo pagano, al que quieren que sacrifiquemos cada uno nuestra vida! Chapúzate en el dolor para curarte de su maleficio; sé serio. Alegre también; pero seriamente alegre. La seriedad es la dicha de vivir tu vida asentada sobre la pena de vivirla y con esta pena casada', '¡Adentro!', *Ensayos*, O. C., I, 245. As we shall see there seems to be

- more than a passing similarity in this reaction to the creative despair of Jiménez.
- 14 Lozano, *Rubén Darío y el modernismo*, xiv. See also vii and entries nos 709—750 (1890—1900); Garfias, *Juan Ramón Jiménez*, 31—32; Dámaso Alonso, *Poetas españoles contemporáneos*, (Madrid 1958), 52.
 - 15 Díaz-Plaja, *Juan Ramón Jiménez en su poesía*, 73—74 and *Modernismo frente a noventayochó*.
 - 16 This is not the place to trace the history of *azul*. For a full discussion see R. Silva Castro, 'El ciclo de "lo azul" en Rubén Darío', *ECM*, 146—67; I. A. Schulman, 'Génesis del azul modernista', *ECM*, 168—89.
 - 17 *Breve historia*, 40—41. See also E. Díez Echarri, 'Métrica modernista: innovaciones y renovaciones', *RLit*, XI, 21—22 (1957), 102—26.
 - 18 'Juan Ramón Jiménez', *BSS*, 19 (1942), 163—78. By far the majority of critics assume that *colorismo* meant an extravagant emphasis on brilliant light and colour effects. Palau de Nemes' accounts of the contact with Rueda and Reina lay stress on this aspect. As this discussion attempts to show, *colorismo* has more to do with that hybrid literary form of *costumbrismo* and the associated patterns of thought directed towards the 'harmony ideal' of the 1860s than the on-going *criticismo* of the sceptical Romantics. See Shaw, 'Armonismo: The Failure of an Illusion', 359.
 - 19 'Me ayudó en el arte de escribir mi conocimiento, siendo casi niño, de tres cursos de latín, aprendidos bajo la dirección del bondadoso y muy culto sacerdote señor Robles. . . . Aquel sacerdote . . . me aleccionaba con amor patriarcal . . . El hizo asimilarme, después de los tres años de latín, todo el culto y glorioso artificio de nuestra lírica de los siglos XVI y XVII, que me llegué a saber de memoria', 'Nota del autor', *Cantando por ambos mundos*, (Madrid-Seville 1914), xiv—xv. As we have seen, the line back to Reinoso and the XVIth century through the Sevillian school and Lista is a direct one.
 - 20 Valentín Gómez, *Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española el día 9 de junio de 1907*, (Madrid 1907), 13 & 16 ff.
 - 21 See N. Alonso Cortés, 'Armonía y emoción en Salvador Rueda', *CLC*, 7 (1943), 36—48; Idem, 'Salvador Rueda y la poesía de su tiempo', *art. cit.*; J. M. Martínez Cachero, 'Salvador Rueda y el modernismo', *BBMP*, 34 (1958), 41—61; Díaz-Plaja, *Modernismo frente a noventayochó*, 287—93.
 - 22 'En realidad — aclara Juan Ramón — el parnasianismo en España vale y representa poco. Salvo en Manuel Reina, Salvador Rueda y alguno más. Nosotros seguimos otro camino. . . . A Rueda le mataron entre la tertulia de don Juan Valera y el Museo de Reproducciones; le dieron un empleo en este centro y creyó que vivía en plena Grecia, entre la Venus de Milo y los dioses antiguos', *Conversaciones*, 104—05. In the 'Nota del autor' Rueda made reference to 'doce años de trato con las estatuas de un Museo', xv.
 - 23 *CI*, 55. See also *TG*, 219 & 224. In *El Sol* on 8 April 1933 Jiménez wrote: 'un diario de Madrid, en su nota necrológica sobre Salvador Rueda, dice que el *colorista* malagueño influyó en mis tempranos intentos poéticos. Es verdad'. Rueda sent Jiménez a copy of his *Camafeos* which were admired but came second to the verses of the Galician poets, *TG*, 224. See also Cansinos Assens, *La nueva literatura*, I, 167.

- 24 'En 1899, ... escribí, entre otros poemas influídos por Rubén Darío y él (Salvador Rueda) este soneto alejandrino: "Mayas"', *CI*, 58. 'La fiesta de mayo', 'En la aldea' and 'La cruz abandonada' were published in *El Programa*, 18, 1-VI-1899; 18, 1-VI-1899 and 20, 30-VIII-1899 respectively.
- 25 S-O, 25—26. Palau's unwitting statement that Jiménez's 'devoción estaba vinculada a la alegría del pueblo, a las romerías', *PII*, 51, accurately summarises the situation.
- 26 Juan Ramón Jiménez, 37. Garfias' comment that in '¡Solo!' 'clarea el adolescente piadoso que quemara todo un libro de versos paganos', *PLP*, 24, suggests that the poem is an affirmation of simple unaffected piety. In fact it expresses clearly the Decadent poetic sensibility of the *modernismo* of the late 1890s.
- 27 'Literatura joven. Prólogo al libro *Tierra andaluza* de Julio Pellicer', *Vida Nueva*, 85, 21-I-1900. Rueda's emphasis. He expressed a similar view of *colorismo* in the preface to Enrique Redel's *Obras literarias*, (Córdoba 1897). In a review in *El Programa* José Ojeda made a nice distinction between *colorismo* (*naturalismo*) and the genuine Zolaesque brand: 'Buenas descripciones hay, cuadros de costumbres, ... que encantan al lector, por la brillantez y exactitud del colorido, ... y el sabor naturalista, (de buena ley), que se advierte'.
- 28 M. Fernández Almagro, *En torno al '98*, (Madrid 1948), 49.

CHAPTER SIX: NERVE STORMS

- 1 *Cuestiones contemporáneas*, (Madrid 1883), 7; 'El dolor', *En pro y en contra* (*Críticas*), (Madrid n.d. [1893]), 224—25 and *La literatura del día*, 33—34.
- 2 *Los límites del modernismo*, 67—68. See also G. W. Ribbans, 'La influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado', *CHA*, 91—92 (1957), 186.
- 3 See especially G. Martínez Sierra's *La vida inquieta. Glosario espiritual*, (Madrid 1913). Beginning from the *donnée* that life is tragically absurd and devoid of *principios fundamentales* or *leyes eternas* (11—12), Martínez Sierra argues that thinking men should pursue not 'la suprema voluptuosidad' but a new and more refined pleasure, 'la voluptuosidad del saber'. Distantly echoing Giner de los Ríos' essay of 1865 he prefers 'la inquietud de la hora' to 'la agitación del acontecimiento', eschews action for contemplation and refines decadent sensuality to make of it an interest in refinement itself, the cerebral reaction to sensation. The artificial becomes the more artificial in that interest is centred, not on sensation, but on the nervous activity of aesthetic awareness. In *Motivos* (Madrid 1905) and subsequently in *La vida inquieta* we find a quietistic mind seeking self-affirmation through art. 'Las emociones intelectuales ... son las emociones contemporáneas. A mi entender, la potencia *emotiva* del corazón se va sustituyendo en nuestros días por el poder *emocional* del intelecto, y el arte, ... acomodándose a esta evolución, produce frutos de sabor nuevo, obras con sal de sabiduría', *Motivos*, 27 and *La vida inquieta*, 82. The repetition of this idea is important in that it underlines exactly the nature of the new sensibility. It is akin to mysticism, but it

is the 'new' mysticism of the *fin de siècle*: 'sencillamente poder de reflexión, silencio poblado de voces interiores, intimidad del alma consigo misma, un como misticismo que hallase dentro del propio espíritu divinidad, altar y adorador', *La vida inquieta*, 83. The contemplated and the contemplator fuse into one in a rapture of hypersensitivity and refined intellectual *dandysme* as the poet perceives himself in the world about him of which he has made a mirror of self-regard. Baudelaire's dictum has come to its fulness. Praz argues that Baudelaire is like an actor reciting his part in front of a mirror. He is nevertheless an actor who is half, and sometimes more than half, convinced of his part, *The Romantic Agony*, 57. One might add that Martínez Sierra and his friends had lost the feeling of the separation of player and part. Life for the *Helios* group was to become Art as a mode for life and conduct. At one moment it was a mirror into whose labyrinths of reflecting surfaces they stepped and often lost their selves, labyrinths which Antonio Machado was to call the 'galerías del alma'. At the same time we should not neglect the complimentary aspect of this heightened spirituality which stressed the ethical purpose of Art and the need to analyse the self and its relationship with the world. In many ways the *Helios* group are similar to the Generation of 1898 in that they cling to the ethical imperative as the last sustaining absolute on which to build some purposive directing ideal. The fundamental difference is that they believed that the means to self-knowledge was to be found through Art. In this the *Helios* group betray their Krausist training and their closeness to the ideals of Giner de los Ríos. As early as 1844 Sanz del Río had explained his determination to introduce Krausism into Spain precisely because it would revitalize the nation's spiritual life. The theme was reiterated by Sanz del Río's greatest pupil in the inauguration speech of the Institución in 1880 when Giner insisted on 'la necesidad de redimir nuestro espíritu'. In the emphasis on *spiritual* values and their combination of aestheticism and ethical purpose the *Helios* group represent the logical fulfilment of those intellectual and philosophical forces outlined in the opening chapter. Jiménez, who came under the spell of Giner and the *institucionistas* and who read the works of Giner on matters aesthetic and ethical (still in the library in Moguer), was no exception.

4 See Shattuck's reference to 'man's search for divinity and spiritual values within the material world, above all within himself'. He goes on to argue that 'the form of a work can imply this inward direction and stand for the fact that the work itself becomes the means, the locus of the search. Twentieth-century art has tended to *search itself* rather than exteriorize reality for beauty of meaning or truth, a condition that entails a new relationship between the work of art, the spectator and the artist', *The Banquet Years*, 326. This comment is immediately relevant to Jiménez's aesthetics.

5 M. Zimmerman is one of the few critics to recognise the metaphysical dimension of Baudelaire's *spleen*. In 'Baudelaire's Early Conception of Poe's Fate', *RLC*, 44^{ème} année, 174 (1970), 117–120 he argues that, according to Baudelaire, Poe's life exemplified the pure quest of a superior being for self-knowledge and all knowledge with a special attraction to abnormal psychology and the philosophy of existence. That quest was

in part stifled by society's materialistic concerns and society's failure to give the poet understanding and the emotional sustenance he needed. For Baudelaire, however, there was a greater enemy of Poe, of Art and of himself; nothing less than a 'Providence diabolique' — cosmic injustice — could explain the artist's alienation and the martyrdom of his craft.

- 6 *Prose*, (Paris, Pléiade 1960), 76. My emphasis. If there were any doubt as to the metaphysical dimension that lay at the centre of the French Romantic response *La Confession* would supply it. In 'Tristesse' we find a similar quest after 'truth' and 'eternal principles' specifically associated with *ennui* and *impuissance*.
- 7 *Le Nouveau Mysticisme*, (Paris 1891), 59—60. See also Paulhan's *Les Phénomènes affectifs et les lois de leur apparition*, (Paris 1887), chapter III; Idem, *M. J.-K. Huysmans et son oeuvre*, (Paris 1898); Idem, *La Physiologie de l'esprit*, (Paris 1892) and *Les Puissances de l'abstraction*, (Paris 1928) which studies seem to indicate that intellectual interests in Europe generally were following similar paths.
- 8 Valera's prediction was more one of wishful thinking than of the reality of the situation: 'La *blague* (sic) triste, la *pose* pesada, de Baudelaire, no se da entre nosotros. ¿Iremos a tomar por lo serio esta *blague* y esta *pose*?', 'Carta a Pedro Antonio de Alarcón', *O. C.*, II, 621.
- 9 Compare with Darío's 'Melancolía', *Cantos de vida y esperanza*, *O. C.*, V, 924—25 with its explicit expression of the anguished vision and the paradoxical aspects of an art that consoles and torments: 'Este es mi mal. Soñar. La poesía / es la camisa férrea de mil puntas cruentas / que llevo sobre el alma. Las espinas sangrientas / dejan caer las gotas de mi melancolía', and Villaespesa's introductory poem to *Luchas* (1899).
- 10 See *CI*, 49 and the review of *El éxodo y las flores del camino*, *LPr*, 242—48. See also *Viva voz* and *Conversaciones* which have many reminiscences of Nervo.
- 11 Probably written in the summer of 1900. The poem was collected in *Rimas* (1902), *PLP*, 181. Such a poem seems to share the mood of 'Vaga' which was also published, with slight modifications, in *Rimas*, *PLP*, 193.
- 12 Compare Walter Pater's comment in *The Renaissance* (1873) *à propos* of the Mona Lisa: 'Like the vampire she has been dead many times and learned the secrets of the grave' and the many references to Sphinxes and Chimeras in Decadent painting and literature. In Samain's *Au Jardin de l'Infante* we find Beauty, *ennui*, and cruel death associated with the presence of the Sphinx, a theme later cultivated by Emilio Carrère in 'En una vida antigua', *Dietario sentimental*, (Madrid 1916), 21, where the Mona Lisa, the enigma of life and 'el mal de la belleza' are juxtaposed. Jiménez's 'Quimérica' and other references to *quimeras* also suggest such a mood, a mood he might also have found in Poe.
- 13 Icaza was to express clearly the concept of a Beauty which is cold, unyielding and inert in 'Hielo', *Efimeras*, 77—78. See also Darío's 'Yo persigo una forma' in *Prosas profanas* which ends on a note of interrogation.
- 14 See Rossetti's 'Beatrice' paintings and drawings and R. Gullón, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y los prerfaelitas', *Peñalaba* (Santander), 20 (1976), 7—9. See also Lévy Dhurmer's 'Marguerite. Dreams'; Thomas Cooper

Gotch's 'Death the Bride'; Fernand Knopf's 'I Lock the Door upon Myself'; H. de la Rochefoucauld's 'Promeneuse', apud Jullian, *Dreamers of Decadence*, plates 12, 33, 40 and 52. See also the many engravings of 'souls' in *The Studio* and the paintings of the Cau Ferrat artists like Rusiñol and Brull reproduced in A. Cirici Pellicer's *El arte modernista catalán*: 'Ensueño' (36), 'Crepúsculo' (48); 'Montserrat' (335). See also Rusiñol's 'Font de San Roc, d'Olot', 'Dama en un jardí', 'La glorieta de can Güell', 'Els jardins de Can Martí Codolà, d'Horta', O. C., Plates x, xxii, xxv, xxx. Poe, of course, along with Heine and Verlaine, was one of a triumvirate of preferred artists: 'Heine es uno de mis tres poetas. Poe y Verlaine son los otros dos', 'Glosario', *Renacimiento*, I (1907), 128. See also *LPr*, 1228—32.

- 15 See Praz: 'All through the literature of Romanticism, down to our times, there is an insistence on this theory of the inseparability of pleasure and pain, a search for themes of tormented, contaminated beauty', *The Romantic Agony*, 45. In the works of his 'poetas predilectos' — Shelley, Musset, Poe, Samain, Rossetti, — Jiménez would have found this phenomenon.
- 16 A. Torres-Rioseco's comment that the obsessive melancholia of the major Latin American *modernistas* was linked to 'la corriente destructora de su siglo' is correct. Yet his implication that the melancholia of European artists was a *pose* (*Precursores del modernismo*, [New York 1963], 32), is only true in part. In the case of Jiménez who uses the same voyage metaphor as Gutiérrez Nájera, Prada and Echevarría we find a sincere attempt to face the problem, a problem deeply felt.
- 17 '[*Dandysme*] is an affirmation of superiority . . . It derives from Byron and the Satanic aspects of the fatal man; for the dandy, like Satan, however frustrated by circumstances, keeps his will intact and commands both himself and his environment. Dandyism and Satanism are thus closely allied; the unbroken determination of Milton's Satan was, for Baudelaire, a proof of dandyism', Carter, *The Idea of Decadence*, 47. In Nervo melancholy was to become the 'gloria' of sadness, which term seems to have more than a passing reference to the *cancionero* ambiguity of sexuality and religion. In 'Horrible mascarada', *Vida Nueva*, 76, 19-XI-1899 Jiménez praised the artist in terms of the vigil of Gethsemane. His question '¿No es noble la sonrisa que cubre el sufrimiento?' is an expression of refinement and superiority linked to Baudelaire's statement that 'le caractère de beauté du dandy consiste surtout dans l'air froid qui vient de l'inébranlable résolution de ne pas être ému; on dirait un feu latent qui se fait deviner, qui pourrait mais qui ne veut pas rayonner', *Le Peintre de la vie moderne*, O. C., 1180.
- 18 O. C., 858a. Elsewhere Maragall is to make the same point. In the prologue to J. Grau Delgado's *Trasuntos* (1899) he attacks the author's lack of vitality, his celebration of 'lo enfermizo de puro refinado' and his making of it 'una especie de dolor absoluto' (869b). In *Sobre novelas* of 1 January 1903 he returned to the subject to attack the 'mal de que adolece . . . casi diríamos toda la poesía y todo el arte moderno: la impureza, la hibridez, una especie de impotencia artística . . .' (972a). Maragall's desire for a more strongly ethical and spiritual force in art belongs, of course, to Krausism. Maragall had come into contact with its ideas

through his friendship with Josep Soler i Miquel who was a dedicated Krausist. The *Helios* group were shortly also to come under its influence. See my 'Decadentisme: Enfonsament o regeneració espiritual?'

CONCLUSION: THE SEARCH FOR A NUCLEUS

- 1 H. Ramsden, *Angel Ganivet's 'Idearium español' (A Critical Study)*, (Manchester University Press 1967); *The 1898 Movement in Spain* and JRUL.
- 2 *Viva voz*, 158. My emphasis. See also the comment to Gullón: 'La crítica común, en España y en Hispanoamérica, le ha quitado al modernismo la pujanza, la fuerza, la juventud, fijándose más en lo accesorio y en lo decorativo que en lo trascendental del movimiento, de la época', *Conversaciones*, 113. My emphasis. For the importance of the dimension of spiritual uncertainty in the formation of Jiménez's mature aesthetic outlook see my 'Los "borradores silvestres", cimientos de la obra definitiva de Juan Ramón Jiménez', *Peñalaba* (Santander), 20 (1976), 3—7.
- 3 See Shaw, *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*; Idem, 'Society and the Writer in the Generation of 1898', *Literature and Western Civilization*, ed. A. Thorlby, VI (London 1975) and note 1 supra. The commentary on Jiménez's idealism here should be read alongside Ramsden's and Shaw's comments on Ganivet especially and my own essay on Catalan Modernism, 'Decadentisme'.
- 4 See Shaw, 'Modernismo', 202 and *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*, 5—6, 14, 210.
- 5 'En Unamuno es la idea, la mente y no los sentidos, lo que es modernista. ... San Juan, Bécquer, Unamuno y Antonio Machado están dentro de la poesía interior', *Conversaciones*, 58 and 132. My emphasis. This comment was to be repeated consistently in other essays on the nature of modernismo and popular poetry. Jiménez seems to have been postulating a common idealistic or spiritual centre attainable by different means. In Unamuno that *dentro de interioridad* was to be attained by intellectual means, a view sustained by the work of Ramsden and Shaw. In the work of Jiménez and his *Helios* associates the *idea* was to be attained by a deliberate cultivation of a refined sensibility and an attunement of the mind to the latent 'vibrations' of the spiritual world. Both employ efforts of will for they impose some meaningful principle where logically none could exist. Like the '98 the *modernistas* turned to abstract philosophical ideas as a source of solving the intractable problems of the age. The difference lies in the fact that the latter never pretended to concern themselves with material progress or practical solutions given the aestheticist cast of their outlook. In the end both groups came down firmly on the side of ideas. Two studies of Jiménez and Unamuno contrive to miss these essential links between the poets: J. Villa-Pastur, 'Juan Ramón Jiménez ante la poesía de Unamuno y Antonio Machado', *Archivum*, 5 (1955), 136—147; M. Salcedo, 'Unamuno and Juan Ramón', *Poesía Española*, 187 (1968), 5—6. V. Josia's 'Juan Ramón Jiménez y Miguel de Unamuno', *Peñalaba* (Santander), 20 (1976), 32—34, establishes some

common poetic themes. In the previous chapter it was argued that Jiménez saw *delicadeza* (spiritual and intellectual refinement) *como una fuerza*. Many critics in the *fin de siècle* condemned it as 'decadente'. As such it is to be linked with the Decadent movement in Europe. At the same time there are reasons for considering Jiménez's *delicadeza* within the Spanish context of the search for some consoling *idea madre* which is the hallmark of the literature of the *fin de siècle* in Spain. Ganivet's distinction concerning the nature of *decadentismo*, confirmed by critics like González Serrano and Maragall, would serve to give substance to the argument postulated here.

6 *TG*, 143—187. See also part III, 'Dos líneas permanentes de la poesía española', 'Poesía cerrada y poesía abierta', *TG*, 96—99 and: 'Yo diría: frente a la línea Garcilaso, Góngora, Darío, hay otra representada por Santa Teresa, San Juan, Bécquer: ésta es la línea interior de nuestra poesía, la línea interna *que nunca se pierde del todo* aunque sea como una Guadiana, asomándose y escondiéndose a trechos', *Conversaciones*, 114. My italics. The echoes of Unamuno's *En torno al casticismo* are obvious. In 1933 Antonio Herrero, author of *Hipólito Yrigoren, maestro de la democracia*, (La Plata 1933), dedicated a copy of his book: 'Para Juan Ramón Jiménez, el poeta del sentido de la Raza, descubridor de leyes nouménicas. Cordial homenaje de A. Herrero' (Library of the Casa-Museo, Moguer No 912). It is clear from a number of volumes in Jiménez's library that Ramón Menéndez Pidal held Jiménez in considerable esteem for he regularly sent Juan Ramón copies of his works with cordial dedications. Ramsden has shown that Menéndez Pidal was subject to the same ideological and psychological impulses that were to shape the '98. Menéndez Pidal may have sensed the more subtle purpose which I see present in Jiménez's work. Both shared a deep love of popular poetry and both admired each other's work in that area. Jiménez attempted to recreate and continue what for him was an *eterna tradición*, the other dedicated his life to interpreting its traditions and history from the pre-determined evolutionist and *Volksgeist* standpoint of the Generation of 1898. For a comparison of the underlying psychology of Jiménez and the men of the 98 see my forthcoming 'Juan Ramón Jiménez, ¿noven-tayochista?' to appear in the *Actas del Simposio Internacional de Estudios Hispánicos*, (Budapest 1977) which approaches the problem from a more radical standpoint than B. Gicovate's 'Juan Ramón Jiménez en la generación del noventa y ocho', *La Torre*, 73—74 (1971), 276—87.

7 Jiménez left copies of Claudel's *Protée*, (Paris 1919) and *L'Art poétique*, (Paris 1915), nos 1798 & 139 in the library in Moguer. There may be others in the Puerto Rico archive. He informed Díaz-Plaja (*El poema en prosa en España*, 62) that Claudel's *Connaissance de l'Est* — 'libro precioso' — had influenced him at an early stage. Real de Azua's comment that 'el positivismo ético utilitario había escorado en una superficial materialismo y la indigencia ontológica de la filosofía en boga hacía nacer, en el sesgo de lo literario y lo social, un caudaloso reclamo de últimas razones de existir y actuar. Fue la hora de la importante conversión de Paul Claudel y la de ese idealismo social que se vertió por vías tan distintas', 'Ambiente espiritual del novecientos', 28, and Angel del Río's apt summary of the idealism of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza

seem to underline exactly the type of idealism described here and expressed by Jiménez: 'Se pretendía crear un tipo humano que, una vez creado, realizará la reforma moral, social, religiosa y política de la nación. Dentro de este concepto educativo que concebía al hombre en su totalidad, nada se descuidaba. Lo básico era la disciplina espiritual y ética, . . . la educación estética . . . y la educación científica con un sentido positivo y riguroso', *El concepto contemporáneo de España. Antología de ensayos. (1895—1931)*, (New York 1962), 18. We find a complementary process in the work of his *Helios* "brother", Antonio Machado, as J. López-Morillas, *Hacia el 98*, 255—69, has shown.

- 8 Jiménez was a permanent resident in the Residencia when Bergson came to lecture and served on the editorial committee which published *La filosofía de Henri Bergson*, por Manuel G. Morente. Con el discurso pronunciado por M. Bergson en la Residencia de Estudiantes el 1 de mayo de 1916. Serie II, vol 10, (Madrid 1917). Jiménez was also involved in the publication of the following works which partook of the same idealistic and psychological tendencies: J. Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote*; Azorín's *El licenciado vidriera*, *Al margen de los clásicos* and *Un pueblecito. Riofrio de Avila*; Unamuno, *Ensayos* (seven vols); Antonio Machado, *Poesías completas*. He told Guerrero Ruiz that he used to have long conversations with Unamuno. He owned copies of Bergson's *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, (Paris 1919), No 1290 and *L'Énergie spirituelle*, (Paris 1922), No 1327.
- 9 *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*, 213.
- 10 L. Cernuda, *Estudios sobre poesía española contemporánea*, (Madrid 1957), 122. See also G. Torrente Ballester, *Literatura española contemporánea, (1898—1936)*, (Madrid 1949), 283—86; L. F. Vivanco, *Introducción a la poesía española contemporánea*, (Madrid 1957), 56—57 and H. T. Young, *The Victorious Expression*, (Madison 1964), 77—79.

ABBREVIATIONS

AL 98	H. Ramsden, 'Ariel ¿libro del 98?', <i>CHA</i> , 302 (1975), 446—455
BRUM	<i>Boletín-Revista de la Universidad de Madrid</i>
CI	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>La corriente infinita</i> , (Madrid 1961)
Cartas	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Cartas</i> , (<i>Primera serie</i>), (Madrid 1962)
Conversaciones	R. Gullón, <i>Conversaciones con Juan Ramón Jiménez</i> , (Madrid 1958)
EAAE	D. F. Fogelquist, <i>Espanoles de América y americanos de España</i> , (Madrid 1968)
ECM	H. Castillo (ed), <i>Estudios críticos sobre el modernismo</i> , (Madrid 1968)
GE	<i>Francisco Giner de los Ríos: Ensayos</i> , ed. J. López Morillas, (Madrid 1969)
History	D. L. Shaw, <i>A Literary History of Spain: The Nineteenth Century</i> , (New York-London 1972)
JRUL	H. Ramsden, <i>The Spanish 'Generation of 1898'</i> , (The John Rylands Library of Manchester 1974)
K	<i>Krausismo: Estética y Literatura. Antología</i> , ed. J. López Morillas, (Barcelona 1973)
LIP, I	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Libros inéditos de poesía: I</i> , (Madrid 1964)
LP	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Libros de poesía</i> , (Madrid 1959)
LPr	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Libros de prosa</i> , (Madrid 1969)
Mod	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>El Modernismo. Notas de un curso (1953)</i> , (Mexico 1962)
'Modernismo'	D. L. Shaw, 'Modernismo: A Contribution to the Debate', <i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</i> , XLIV (1967), 195—202
MRmod	F. Aguilar Piñal, 'Manuel Reina y el modernismo', <i>Insula</i> , 166 (1960), 7 and 11
OPMR	F. Aguilar Piñal, <i>La obra poética de Manuel Reina</i> , (Madrid 1968)
PI	G. Palau de Nemes, <i>Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez</i> , (Madrid 1957)
PII	G. Palau de Nemes, <i>Vida y obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez: La poesía desnuda</i> , 2a edición completamente renovada, (Madrid 1974)
PLP	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Primeros libros de poesía</i> , (Madrid 1959)
PP	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>Primeras prosas</i> , (Madrid 1962)
S-O	C. del Saz-Orozco, S. J., <i>Desarrollo del concepto de Dios en el pensamiento religioso de Juan Ramón Jiménez</i> , (Madrid 1966)

TG	Juan Ramón Jiménez, <i>El trabajo gustoso</i> (Conferencias), (Mexico 1961)
Viva voz	J. Guerrero Ruiz, <i>Juan Ramón de viva voz</i> , (Madrid 1961)

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICAL TITLES

Arb	<i>Arbor</i>
AUM	<i>Anales de la Universidad de Murcia</i>
BBMP	<i>Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo</i>
BHi	<i>Bulletin Hispanique</i>
BHS	<i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</i>
BSS	<i>Bulletin of Spanish Studies</i>
CA	<i>Cuadernos Americanos</i>
CHA	<i>Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos</i>
CLC	<i>Cuadernos de Literatura Contemporánea</i> (Madrid)
CLit	<i>Comparative Literature</i>
ELit	<i>Estafeta Literaria</i>
HBalt	<i>Hispania</i> (Baltimore and Wisconsin)
Hisp	<i>Hispania</i> (Madrid)
HispI	<i>Hispanofila</i> (Madrid and Illinois)
HR	<i>Hispanic Review</i>
In	<i>Insula</i>
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
LT	<i>La Torre</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
N	<i>Neophilologus</i>
NRFH	<i>Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PSA	<i>Papeles de Son Armadans</i>
QIA	<i>Quaderni Iberoamericani</i>
RevIb	<i>Revista Iberoamericana</i>
RHLF	<i>Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France</i> (Paris)
RHM	<i>Revista Hispánica Moderna</i>
RJ	<i>Romanisches Jahrbuch</i>
RLC	<i>Revue de Littérature Comparée</i>
RLit	<i>Revista de Literatura</i>
RUBA	<i>Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires</i>
S	<i>Symposium</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Romanticism</i>

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

PC	<i>Poesías completas</i>
PE	<i>Poesías escogidas</i>
OC	<i>Obras completas, Obres completes and Oeuvres complètes</i>

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a number of significant native intellectual preoccupations and literary movements (*costumbrismo*, Krausism, pre-Modernism), the visual arts, scientific theory, philosophical ideas and theology. This study further suggests that the idealism of Juan Ramón Jiménez, formed in this cultural environment, was very closely allied to the outlook of the Generation of 1898 and that this pervasive idealism sprang from a common root and a common spiritual experience. This monograph lends support to the view that that experience was the more contemporary attitude to the human condition which had first been expressed in a modern form by the Romantics.

Richard A. Cardwell took his first degree at the University of Southampton and his Ph. D. at Nottingham University. He has been a lecturer at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth and since 1967 has taught at the University of Nottingham where he is now Reader in Hispanic Studies. He has written on a number of Spanish, Catalan and Latin American modern writers, has produced editions of works by Ricardo Gil and Manuel Reina and has written a critical guide on Blasco Ibáñez's *La barraca*. A complementary study of aspects of Catalan *Modernisme* and a critical edition of the lyrical poems of Espronceda are shortly to appear.

